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SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

VOLUME III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TAMIL COUNTRY

PARTS I AND II

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P R E F A C E

THIS volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions* consists of four parts of which the first, containing the texts, translations and short introductions of 63 inscriptions secured from Ukkal, Melpadi, Karuvur, Mamangalam and Tiruvallam, was issued by Dr. Hultzsch in 1899. The second part published by the same scholar in 1903 dealt with 25 mediæval Chola inscriptions and contained a full account of the political history of the period covered by the reigns of the four Chola kings Virarajendra I, Kulottunga I, Vikrama-Chola and Kulottunga III. In 1920, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri brought out the third part of the volume with texts and translations of 117 important Chola inscriptions belonging to the reigns of almost all the members of the Vijayalaya line from Aditya I to Rajendra-Chola I excepting Rajaraja I, having in view the object of writing a complete account of the Cholas in the concluding part. The special feature of this part is that it includes in it a critical edition of the Tiruvalangadu plates discovered in 1906 and briefly reviewed by Mr Venkayya in his *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for that year. The plates furnish not only a complete genealogy of the Cholas but also give more detailed information about individual kings than are narrated in the Leyden plates, the only authority till then for Chola history. As an account of the time of Rajaraja I had been given by Mr Venkayya in his introduction to Volume II and as the part played by the mediæval Cholas had been sketched by Dr. Hultzsch in Part II of this volume, it remained only to notice the history of the early members of the Vijayalaya line including the reign of Rajendra-Chola I. This account is now given as an introduction to the volume and is appended to Part IV which contains two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur and some minor Chola copper-plates. It is a matter for regret that Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who undertook to edit the part was not spared to see the final issue of it. The Chola history narrated in the introduction and the edition of the two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur will be remembered as his last epigraphical contribution. He left to me the verification of the index of the first three parts, the incorporation in it of the references to Part IV and introduction, the drawing up of the addenda and corrigenda, the editing of the minor Chola copper-plates and the revision of the proofs.

To be consistent with the earlier parts in the system of transliteration, the old diacritical marks have been employed in Part IV and introduction.

OOTACAMUND, }
19th March 1928. }

K V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.

I

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page 5, line 1.—For “beginning” read “adjoining”

„ 5 „ 3—For “the road to (the temple of) Śankaranârâyana” read “the road (called) Śankaranârâyanaṇavadi.”

Lines 1 to 3 may be altered as follows:—“The land partitioned on the north (so as to) adjoin the land of Râghavadêva and situated to the west of (the road called) Śaṅkara-nârâyanaṇavadi and to the north of (the channel called) Tarutambavâykkâl.”

For note 1 on this page, substitute “அடைய” means “to meet or adjoin.”

„ 6, line 8 of Translation—For “Oḍimukki[bhrân]ta-Kramavittan” read “Bhrânta-Kramavittan of Ôḍimūkkil”

„ 6, line 17 of „ —For “Mudumbai Śandirâchcha-Tambiyum-Ulittâr” read “Śandirâchchan of Mudumbai, (his) younger brother and others.”

„ 7, text-line 3—For தனனெழிலு read தனனெழிலு

„ 9, line 4.—The phrase “எரிககடடி” has been split into எரி and கடடி and translated “shall close (the sluice of) the tank (to collect water for irrigation)” but it may be better to split எரிககடடி into எரிககு and அடி and translate it as “giving (it) for (the maintenance of) the tank.”

„ 13, line 2.—For “per day” which is the rendering of “மெயவேறு” substitute “each or individually” and strike out the note

„ 17, text-line 1—Insert a hyphen at the end of the line

„ 17 „ 2.—For கூறறு read கூறறு

„ 18 „ 8—For செறுவிற read செறுவிற

„ 18, No 12, line 3—Omit the words “for burning” in line 10 of paragraph 1 of translation

„ 18—For “A D 900 to 940” read “A.D 907 to 953”

Introduction of No 12

As No. 11 registers the general order of the assembly regarding the grant of the village of Śōḍiyambâkkam made in the 16th year of the King and as No 12 states “that in accordance with that grant, the assembly refrained from paying the customary rights which were (thereby) left to the temple”, the latter record seems to have been issued subsequent to the former.

„ 20, line 7—For “store-room” read “central shrine”

„ 20, translation of line 9—For “(If) a crime (or) sin becomes public, the god (i.e. temple authorities) alone shall punish the inhabitants of this village (for it)” read “The dēva (i.e. the temple authorities) alone shall realise by levying *kurra-dōsham*¹ and *maṇi upādu*² from the inhabitants of these villages” and enter the following notes:—

1 With *உணிககு* cf. *தண்டி* “demanding”

2 குற்றதேவாஷம் seems to mean “fine imposed on persons for defaults”

3 மனறுபாடு is also a similar fine imposed by the village assembly

For note 9 enter “மெயவேறு” means “individually”

„ 24, line 13—For “resting-place” read “tomb-shrine.”

„ 25, line 1f of Translation.—For “as a resting-place for the king who fell asleep at Ârrûr” read “as a tomb-shrine of Ârrûr-tuñjinadêva i.e. the king who died at Ârrûr”

„ 27, line 2f—For “the king who fell asleep at Ârrûr” read “the king who died at Ârrûr”

„ 28, Translation, l. 9—Change “the crown of Sundara” into “the beautiful crown”

Page 37, line 20.—For “Pôttā[ra]yan” read “Pottayan”

„ 41 — Add to the introduction of No 22 the following —

“It has, however, to be noted that some of the signatories have the name ‘Kulôttunga’ prefixed to their surnames and we do not know of any Kulôttunga before the first of that name who occupied the Chôla throne after Parakêśarivarman Râjêndradêva”

„ 50, text-line 8.—For எ[ற]சுசொறு and வெயதி read எச்சொறு and வெயதி

„ „ For note 1 substitute—“As Lôkamahâdêvi - chaturvêdimangalam, which must have been called after Lôkamahâdêvî, one of the queens of Râjarâja I, is mentioned in this inscription, the Râjakêśarivarman of this record may either be Râjarâja I or one of his successors who bore that title

„ 55, top line.—For வெழகுலாசனாகியா read வெழகுலசனாகியா.

„ 57, translation of line 6 —For “Vêlakulai, Śalukkiyar (Chalukya)” read “the Śalukkiyar (Chalukyas) of the Vêl family:”—see note 7 on p 161

„ 85 —For முதலாக in note 4, read முதலதிறகா and in Translation, line 7, for “on interest” read “as fixed deposit.”

„ 90, Introduction to No. 42, line 3 end.—For “Western Ganga” read “Pallava.”

„ 92, translation of line 11 —For “He who destroys this (*charity*) shall incur the sin of one who kills the great men who are permanent (*members*)^s of the assembly” read “He who destroys this (*Charity*) shall incur the sin of killing the seven hundred of the *ghatika*”

„ 105, translation, line 9 —For “Śamkaradêva, (the son of)” read “Tiruvaiyan Śamkaradêva” and remove “—Tiruvaiyan” in the last line but one.

„ 107, Introduction to No. 53, lines 3-7.—For “Sômanâtha (*the son of*) Śamkaradêva whose Râjarâja I (51). The same epithets . . . spelling” read “Samkaradêva Sômanâtha to whose name are prefixed the same epithets as those that precede the name of Tiruvaiyan Samkaradêva occurring in No 51 with nearly the same mistakes in spelling”

„ 108, translation, line 2 —Delete the words “Sômanâtha (*the son of*)”

„ „ 4 —After “Samkaradêva” add “Sômanâtha.”

„ 117, line 12 —For “Pulângudai” read “Pulângudi”

„ „ line 36.—For “Ilaiyânkudai” read “Ilaiyânkudi.”

„ „ note 7 —For “tandahl - akkai” read “tandal - ilakkaï”

„ 128, line 2 —For “by defeating the king of Dhârâ at Śakkarakôttam” read “by defeating Dhârâ-varaisan (i.e., Dhârâvarsha) at Śakkarakôttam”

„ 130, line 16f —Omit the words “i.e. the western hill country (Malabar) and the ancestors of the Nairs of the present day.”

„ 132, line 13f —For “from the king of Dhârâ” substitute “from Dhârâvaraisan (i.e., Dhârâvarsha).”

„ 143, note 4 —For “which passes” read “which passes.”

„ „ note 10 —For “êrachchôru” read “echchôru.”

„ 163, line 5.—For “The chief (*kôn*) of this village, Râjarâjan *alias* Kulôttunga-Śôla-Nâñjinâd-Udayân” read “Kôn Râja-râjan *alias* Kulôttunga-Śôla-Nâñjinâd-Udayân of this village.”

„ 177, note 2.—For “With *maganmai* ‘the daughtership’ compare the similar term *maganmai* ‘the sonship’ in No. 57 above, text-line 9” read “*Maganmai* or *maganmai*”

is a revenue term (equivalent to *magama*) and means according to Dr. Winslow 'the revenue of a temple or other public establishment, from the produce of land or a portion of the taxes: or the stated voluntary contribution to such an establishment'."

Page 216, note 4 —For "Vanîlam" read "Vânîlam."

„ 242, Introduction to No. 108, line 5. —For "gives the king" read "gives the chief Mâraṇ Paramēśvaran "

Note.—According to the Tamil portion he was the donor and not the king.

Page 242—No 108 Introduction, line 5f —For "gives the king the title Vîrakîrti" read "gives the donor Mâraṇ Paramēśvaran the title Vîrakîrti."

„ 247, Translation, line 4 —For "Tiruvunnâligaipuram" read "Tiruvunnâligaipuram "

„ 253, end of Translation —For "Gana" read "gana."

„ 260, para. 2 —The word *sabhaśkūttuvān* has been taken to be the proper name of a field. But it is very likely that it means "he who convenes the assembly "

„ 260, Introduction to No. 124 —Add the following :—

By its very contents which refer to the renovation of the temple and the using up of the earlier lithic records in its construction, this inscription appears to be the earliest one to be engraved on the walls of the renovated temple. As such, it must belong to the reign of Parāntaka I or his grandfather Vijayālaya, for both of them bore the title Parakēśarvarman. In this connection it may be noted that the earliest certain inscription on the walls of the temple belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I.

„ 279, Translation, line 8.—The word *Vāvu* which is not translated may be taken to refer to Pûrṇimâ (full moon) or Amāvāsya (new moon).

„ 290, text-line 83.—For திரு[நா] read திருந[ல].

„ 292, line 13 —For "Madirî" read "Madirai."

„ 293, line 4 —For "Karpagam" read "Karpagam "

„ „ line 5 —For "Tirunâlûr" read "Tirunallûr."

„ „ line 7 —For "Krishnan" read "Krishnan."

„ „ line 11 —For "Nerkunram" read "Nerkuniam."

„ paragraph 2, line 3 —For "nadu" read "nâḍu."

„ 294, Introduction to No. 144, paragraph 2, line 4.—For "laksana" read "lakshana."

„ 300, last line but 2 —For "Kâraikkâtṭu" read "Kâraikkâtṭu "

„ 310, note 2 —For "vidha" read "vidhâ."

„ 345, note 10, last line.—For "Mahâseepuram" read "Mahâbalipuram."

„ 378, Introduction to No. 202, line 3. —For "Tiruvēlai - araichchâkkai" read "Tiruvēlarai-châkkai."

„ „ last line of the notes —Supply 4 at the beginning.

„ 379, line 10 —For "Hi sname" read "His name."

„ „ text-line 4 —For திருவெளை அறைச்சாக்கை[சு*]கு read திருவெளை அறைச்சாக்கை[சு*]கு.

„ 381, translation, line 20 —Enter note 5 on the word "adai - ôlai "

„ 382, line 19.—For "nêṇṇu" read "nêru"

„ 383, line 3 of Introduction to the Tiruvālangādu plates—Correct "1916" into "1906".

„ 391, foot-note 6 —For "Vannâra-pārai" read "Vannâra-pārai "

„ 421, (v 80) —For "Râvana" read "Râvana "

„ 435, last line.—For "Nochchikaluval" read "Nochchikaluval."

„ 437, (L. 458)—line 6 —For "me" read "mine."

Page 460, footnote 4.—*For* “Mahâratia, Malaikalam and proferably,” *read* “Mahâratha, Malaikalam and preferably”.

„ 462, „ 1, line 1 —*For* “Kôttâriolil,” *read* “Kôttârpilil”

„ „ 1, 2 —*For* “Kôttârpoli” *read* “Kôttârpilil”

„ 463, „ 3.—*For* “धरणि,” *read* “धरणि”.

„ 470, Translation 1, 8 —*For* “tunî and kurunî,” *read* “tûnî and Kurunî”

Index p 7.—*Against* “Ettukkûr” *have* the number “71” instead of “7”

„ p 12.—*For* “Kauskan,” *read* “Kausikan” and *for* “Kavêrakaryakâ,” *read* “Kavêrakanyakâ”.

„ p. 29 —Second column, item 7 —*For* “Katân a” *read* “Katâha”

Add Corr., p. XIII.—*For* “p 25 l 1f” *read* “p 25 l. 6f”

INTRODUCTION.

The early ruling dynasties of Southern India were the Chêras, Chôlas and Pândyas who ethnologically are supposed to have been of a common stock, different from that of the Aryans of Northern India. Their language was Tamil and their country accordingly was known as *Tamilakam*¹ 'the country of the Tamils'. Under the Aryan influence, the name *Tamilakam* appears in later times to have been Sanskritised into *Dramilaka* or *Dramiduka* and dropping the *ka* in accordance with a rule of Sanskrit grammar it became *Dramila*, *Dramida*, *Dravida* or *Drâvda*. When and how these changes took place it is difficult to say. Agastya and Paraśurâma are famous Aryan sages whose stories are intimately connected, from the epic times, with the Drâvda country, Southern India. The term *Dramidâh* occurs as the name of a country, perhaps South India, in the Bhîshmaparvan of the *Mahâbhârata*². Manu speaks of the Dravidas as a degraded class of Kshatriyas. Ptolemy in the first century A.D. used the word *Dimirice*, perhaps, to denote the very same tract of land. In the *Bṛhajjâtaka* of Varâhamihira and in Hsuen Tsiang, we find it restricted to the name of a district on the east coast of the Deccan, of which the capital was Conjeeveram. The word *Tamil* means 'melodious' and it was evidently its sweetness that contributed the name Tamil to that language. Whatever may have been the origin of the word, it remains a fact that the Aryans changed it into 'Dramida' first and in their characteristic way attempted afterwards to assimilate it and trace it to some Sanskrit root: this appears to have been the practice of the day, as may be inferred from the incidental note on Drâvidî words given by Bhatta Kumârila in his famous *Tantra-Vârthika*.

Ethnologists point out several racial differences between the Dravidians and the Aryans such as (1) their customs and manners, (2) their thought formations, and (3) the peculiarities in their physical build. While all this may establish Dravidians as a distinct type, it does not help the historian to peep into the antiquity of an independent Dravidian age in the South, uncontaminated by Aryan influence: much less does it enable him to record any events that might corroborate its separate existence. Tamil literature, to a certain extent, speaks of the early period of the Tamils but the major portion of its account has yet to be worked out and proved to be a reliable record of contemporaneous events. Even the few historical facts imbedded in it, are in the usual oriental fashion mixed up with the imagery of the poet or the flattery of the courtier.

The kingdoms of the Chôda, Pândya and Kêralaputta (Chêra) are stated in the Rock Edicts of Asôka to have been bordering on the dominions of the Mauryan Emperor and in the first

¹ *Tamilakam* is sometimes connected with Tamluk (Tamrahpt) in Bengal it being presumed that the Tamils immigrated into the South of India by the North-Eastern route through the valley of the Brahmaputra. The expression *Tamilagam* consists of two words *Tamil* and *agam* of which the latter means 'earth or land'. In Sanskritising it into *Dramidaka* the significance of the original Tamil word *agam* does not appear to have been recognised, but the letter *ka* was retained because it was there in the original. Gradually this letter also was dropped since in Sanskrit the suffix *ka* is optionally added to a noun without causing any change in meaning. Sometimes *ka* has the diminutive significance. Thus *Dramulaka* may have been applied originally to a small district, but when the extended country had to be referred to, the suffix *ka* was dropped and only *Dramula* used.

² Ch. 9, v. 58.

of these, i.e., the Chôla country, the faithful (i.e., Buddhists) are reported to have been living. That Buddhism had already reached the South even before Asôka's time is thus confirmed by the latter statement, though the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* denies the fact poetically when it says that the missionaries of Asôka flew over Southern India direct to Ceylon from Kalinga to preach the Buddhist faith there. Stronger evidences have also been recently brought to light which prove the possible influence of Buddhism in Southern India. Whatever the Epics, the Purāṇas and other early Sanskrit works may state or prove regarding the original Drāvida inhabitants, their country and their civilisation, positive epigraphical evidence contained in the cave inscriptions of the Madura and Tinnevely districts written in Brāhmī characters of a pre-Asôkan type, and in a language whose affinity to the Dravidian may yet be established when these queer records come to be successfully interpreted¹, shows that these natural caverns, like the thousands of similar rock-shelters of Ceylon were occupied in pre-Christian times by the Buddhists and converted by them into residences for their ascetics. The Brāhmī characters of these records at any rate must have been introduced by the Buddhists from the north or from Ceylon, though the language adopted may have been one mostly influenced by local dialects. Besides these, no further traces of Buddhism are known to exist in South India till after a long interval. In the 11th century A.D. we find gifts made to the great *vihāra* (called Pudukkottai) at Nāgapattanam (Negapatam) by the famous Chôla king Rājārāja I. Tamil literature abounds in references to Buddhist stories and authors and leaves no doubt that Buddhism thrived well from its very inception right up to the period of the Śaiva and Vaishnava revivals in the early 7th century A.D. and perhaps in a milder form even after that period, down to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era.

The Purāṇic and the Buddhist periods in the history of Southern India being thus almost a blank from an epigraphical point of view the history of the Śaiva saints and Vaishnava Ālvārs handed down by tradition and recorded in the books *Peryapurāṇam* and *Guruparam-parāprabhāva* respectively, and some well-known works of the *Sangam* period, supply, though sparingly, some historical data to work upon. Of the latter class, the *Pattinappattai* is exclusively devoted to the life of the reputed king Karikāla who had the banks of the Kāvêrī constructed by his vassal kings and who is said to have set his foot over the crowns of the Pāndya and the Chêra². In chapter V of his *Tamils*, 1800 years ago, Mr Kanakasabhai Pillai has collected all that is available in literature regarding the early Chôla kings of whom he mentions about eight. Karikāla was the most famous of them. It was he that changed his capital from Urayūr to Kāvīrīpattinam, erected banks on either side of the river Kāvêrī, dug irrigation canals and patronised poets. After defeating the Pāndyas and the Chêras, he contracted diplomatic marriage relations with the latter and political alliance with the former³. The *Kalavali*⁴ or 'the Battle-field', a poem written by the poet Poygaiyār, describes the fight at Kalumalam between the Chôla king Chengannān or Kôchchengannān and the Chêra king Kanaikkāl Irumporai, wherein the latter is stated to have been defeated and imprisoned by the

¹ See *Epigraphical Reports* of the Madras Presidency for the years 1907 and onwards. Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has shown that the language of these inscriptions is Tamil and has interpreted them as such. See pages 275 to 300 of the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 146 ff.

³ This king, Karikāla has been assigned to the 5th century A.D., See below, p. 4.

⁴ This poem has been ascribed to the 6th or 7th century A.D. by Kanakasabhai Pillai.

former but released through the intervention of the poet Poygaiyâr whose poem had such good effect on the victorious Chôla that he granted the request of the poet, viz, the release of the Chêra king Chengannân is called the king of the 'country watered by the river Kâvêri'. The same event is also referred to in the later poem, the *Kalingattupparam* which describes the conquest of Kalinga by Kulôttunga-Chôla I. Epigraphical records describe Kôchchengannân as a fervent devotee of Śiva and as having been freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body. In the *Peryapurânam*, Kôchchengannân is stated to have been a staunch Śaiva, to have built the temple at Jambukêśvaram in the Trichinopoly district and to have restored many a Śiva temple in the Chôla country from ruin¹. Although a staunch Śaiva himself, Kôchchengannân is stated to have built Vaishnava temples as well. Still another early Chôla king mentioned in literature is Perunarkilli or Perunarkilli who was 'the master of many sciences'.

Kôchchengannân and Perunarkilli, according to Mr Kanakasabhai Pillai came to the throne after Karikâla. Literature states that Killivalavan, the elder brother of Perunarkilli, married a Nâga princess named Pilhvalai during a romantic excursion and obtained by her a son called Tondai. The king made this prince the ruler of the Tondai-mandalam and thus even the little power that might have been wielded by the Chôlas in the northern part of their vast dominions went out of their hands. Tondai and his descendants are known in later history as Pallavas (Tondaiyarkôn). It is significant that the destruction of the capital town of Kâvirippûmpattinam happened during the reign of Killivalavan. Of Kôchchengannân, the Vaishnava saint Tirumangai-Âlvâr of the 8th century A D says that he built 70 temples for Vishnu. This makes Kôchchengannân anterior to Tirumangai-Âlvâr.

The *Peryapurânam* mentions other Chôla kings and chiefs such as Pugalchôla-Nâyanâr, Idangali-Nâyanâr and Kûrruva-Nâyanâr who are not referred to in epigraphical records.

The vague memory with which the authors of the copper-plate records refer to the three early Chôla kings is sufficient evidence to show that at the commencement of the 10th century A D, the probable date of the earliest of these records, their names carried with them no more significance than the other legendary names in the earlier portion of the genealogical list. It is surprising also that references to their rule and to their battles are rarely, if at all, found in the thousands of Chôla inscriptions distributed over almost every part of the Chôla country. While thus the political status of these early Chôla kings was altogether forgotten at the commencement of their revival in the end of the 9th century A D, their devotion to Śaivism which preceded this revival and their actual participation in its propaganda are established by the stories about them related in the *Peryapurânam*.

Of the epigraphical records, the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chôla (Parântaka II) mention Kôchchengannân as the builder of Śiva temples in various parts of his kingdom². The

¹ Prior to his birth as a king, he was a spider and long served Śiva by weaving a web over the Śivalinga stopping thereby the dry leaves from falling on it. The pious spider one day died in an encounter with a white elephant which had regularly been pulling out the web piously woven by it over the head of Śiva. The spider, it is stated, one day killed the elephant by biting it in its proboscis and himself also died immediately being dashed to the ground by the dying elephant. God Śiva liberated at once the spider from its animal body and blessed it to be born as the Chôla king Kôchchengannân.

² *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XV, p 46.

Tiruvālangādu grant and the large Leyden plates make only a mere mention of him and do not give further details. In the genealogical order, he is placed some time after the famous Karikāla who has been ascribed on other grounds roughly to the end of the 5th century A.D. Perhaps Kōchchengannān was also like Karikāla a famous Chōla king of about that period¹, but unlike him he had a religious turn of mind. The Chōlas in the time of Karikāla must have still been a powerful independent race in their native country.

The Leyden plates, the Tiruvālangādu grant, the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla and the Kanyākumārī inscription of Vīrarājendra-Chōla are the only epigraphical records discovered and published so far, that give genealogical lists of Chōla kings². These do not supply us with any other facts about the earlier members of the dynasty than what has been already gathered from literature. The mythical pedigree, in these records, which traces the Chōlas to the Sun includes such Purāṇic and legendary names as those of Manu, Ikshvāku, Prithu, Māndhātṛi, Muchukunda, Śibi, etc., and the eponymous Chōla (son of Bharata) after whom the race received the name Chōla³. One of the legendary kings mentioned in the Kanyākumārī record, *viz*, Pañchapa is stated to have acquired that name by his affording protection to five Yakshas. Suraguru was another who earned the title Mrityujit, by conquering even the god of Death. Vyāghrakētu was still another from whom the Chōlas evidently borrowed the banner of the tiger. All the kings so far enumerated, lived 'in ages prior to the Kaliyuga'. To the Kaliyuga itself belonged Karikāla, the builder of the banks of the Kāvērī and the renewer of the town of Kāñchī, Kōchchengannān, the fervent devotee of Śiva, who was freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body and who much influenced the revival of Śaivism in Southern India and Perunkillī. What then could have been the reason for the fact that the doings of these famous Chōla kings, whose constant feuds with the Pāndyas and the Chēras or their diplomatic alliances with either of them are so elaborately described by contemporaneous Tamil poets, faded away from the memory of the panegyrists of Sundara-Chōla (Parāntaka II), Rājārāja I and Rājendra-Chōla I?⁴ We have perhaps to suppose that between Karikāla, whose time has been fixed to be about the end of the 5th century A.D., and Vijayālaya of the 9th century, the Chōlas must have become so entirely degenerate⁵ as even to lose their identity

¹ See Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's '*Some Contributions of Southern India to Indian Culture*.'

² The Udayēndiram Plates of Prithvipati II (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 382 ff.) also supply a genealogical account of the Chōla kings. But the information given here is not so full as in the other plates, the apparent reason being that the Chōla genealogy therein is introduced only incidentally.

³ The Kanyākumārī record gives a fanciful account of this king Chōla suggesting that he was the first to bring Brāhmanas from Āryāvarta and settle them on the banks of the Kāvērī. In early Tamil literature, we find no mention of the dynastic name Chōla or its variants. How and when it came into use has yet to be inquired into. Its mention in the form Chōda as applied to a kingdom bordering on the dominions of Aśoka, the name *Chukye* given by Hsien Tsiang to a district of the Telugu country, the title Chōla-Mahārāja found in some Telugu records of the 9th century A.D., the name Śōla occurring in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and in some early Kannada inscriptions of the Nolambas, the Śōnādu, (a contraction of Śōla-nādu) found in the *Pattinappālai* are the only references so far available with which we may connect the modern name Chōla.

⁴ It is inferred from statements made in literature that Karikāla must have been, at the best, only an usurper and that among the kings who may have succeeded him, there was much of disunion and discontent. This was apparently the reason why they soon disappeared before the advancing Pallavas and the Pāndyas.

⁵ Internal disputes and revolts during the time of Killivalavan are referred to in the *Śilappadigāram*. He is also stated in the *Aganānūru* to have advanced against Madura and to have been defeated there.

owing perhaps to the rise of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram on the one side and to the pushing inroads of the Pândyas on the other. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chôla¹ refer to a hall in the temple of Ūragam at Conjeeveram named Karikâla-terri probably after Karikâla. The defeat of the unnamed Pândya king at Vennil by Karikâla might be established if we compare this statement with the genealogical account of the Pândya dynasty given in the Vêlvikudî and the Śinnamanûr plates. About the end of the 5th century A D the period of Karikâla's rule, the Pândyas appear to have been politically weak and the Pândya country itself is said to have been usurped by the Kalabhras. With the rise of Kadungôn² in that family, the Pândyas are said to have revived and spread their power. Karikâla's descendants in the bordering Chôla country were not evidently able to withstand the onrush of the Pândyas and accordingly abandoned their ancestral dominions for about 300 years at least, after Karikâla, until Vijayâlâya once again, about the end of the 9th Century A D, recaptured Tañjâvûr and established his sway over the ancestral Chôla dominions. It is suggested that during this exile the Chôlas might have ruled as petty chiefs in the south-western part of the Telugu country and given rise there to a new family of Telugu kings of Chôla origin, whom Mr Venkayya calls Telugu-Chôlas and who in their records claim descent from the solar race and count Karikâla as one of their famous ancestors.

A satisfactory working basis for the history of the Pallavas, the Pândyas and the revived Chôlas may be considered as fairly supplied, though, in the case of the second of these, abundant material available for the medieval period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century has not been sufficiently represented and much of the written history of the first is found distributed over various antiquarian books and journals. While, therefore, giving a full bibliography for the study of the first, and drawing special attention in this connection to the Sanskrit work *Muttavilâsa-Prahasana* composed by the great Pallava king Mahêndra-varman I, about the beginning of the 7th century A D, I propose to put together in the following pages a detailed account of the Chôlas of Tanjore as far as it could be gathered mainly from the inscriptions included in the first three volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, and collating, of course, where necessary, information from other available sources. All that could be said of the early Pândyas is found *infra* in the historical introduction to the two Śinnamanûr plates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY

- (1) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part I (pp 1 to 33)
- (2) A Pallava grant from Kûram, *ibid.* Part IV, Addenda No 151
- (3) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty, *ibid.* Vol II, Nos 72, 73, 74, 98 and 99.
- (4) A Prâkrit grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume I, No 1.
- (5) Two cave inscriptions from the Trisîrâpalli (Trichinopoly) rock, *ibid.*, No 9.
- (6) A Plate of a Pallava copper-plate grant, *ibid.* No. 45 (See also *ibid.* Vol. II, No 40)

¹ *Below*, No 128, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol LIV, p 72.

² See the Vêlvikudî grant published in *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291—309.

(7) Udayêndîram plates of Nandîvarman , *ibid*, Vol III No. 23 (See also *ibid*) No. 38-A).

(8) Mahêndravâdi inscription of Gunabhara , *ibid*, Vol IV, No. 19.

(9) Inscriptions at Kîl-Muttugûr and Âmbûr , *ibid*, Nos 22 and 23

(10) Jaina rock-inscriptions at Pañchapândavamalai , *ibid*, No 14-A

(11) Râyakôta plates of Skandaśishya , *ibid*, Vol V, No 8.

(12) Mayîdavôlu plates of Śivaskandavarman ; *ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 8

(13) Two cave inscriptions at Śîyamangalam , *ibid*, No. 32

(14) Three Memorial stones , *ibid*, Vol VII, No 4

(15) A rock inscription at Tandalam , *ibid*, No. 5

(16) Inscriptions at Tirukkôvalûr , *ibid*, No 20, A, B and C.

(17) Inscriptions at Śôlapuram , *ibid*, No 26-A and B.

(18) British Museum plates of Chârudêvi ; *ibid*, Vol VIII, No 12.

(19) Pîkira grant of Simhavarman , *ibid*, No 15

(20) Chendalûr plates of Kumâravîshnu II ; *ibid*, No 23

(21) Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman , *ibid*, No. 29 (See also *ibid*, Vol. IX, No. 10).

(22) The Pallava inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas , *ibid*, Vol. X, No 1.

(23) Tiruvellarai inscription of Dantivarman , *ibid*, Vol XI, No. 15 (See also *ibid*. Nos. 22 and 35)

(24) Two cave inscriptions at Dalavânûr , *ibid*, Vol XII, No 27 (also see *ibid*, No 28).

(25) Uruvupalli grant , *Ind Ant* , Vol V, pp 50 ff (See also the Anhole inscription in the same volume, p. 67)

(26) Mângadûr grant ; *ibid* pp 154 ff

(Fa Hian's Kingdom of Dakshina, *ibid*. Vol VII, pp. 1 ff)

(See contemporaneous history of Gangas, Bânas, Kadambas, Râshtrakûtas and Western Châlukyas)

(27) Bâdâmi Pallava inscription , *Ind Ant* , Vol IX, p 99 f _

(28) Pallava grant of Vijaya-Buddhavarman *ibid*. p 100 f

(29) Pallava grant of Attivarman , *ibid* p 102 f

(30) Grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla , *ibid* Vol VIII, pp 273 ff.

(31) The Chalukyas and Pallavas , *ibid*. pp 23 ff

(32) Grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman , *ibid* pp 167 ff

(33) The probable age of some Pallava remains , *ibid*. Vol. XVII, p 30 f (Pallavas and Prâkrit , *ibid* XXXIII, p 170).

(34) Two Pallava copper-plate grants , *Ep Ind* , Vol XV, pp 246 ff.

(35) Pallavas (the later) in Nellore , *Ind Ant* , Vol XXXVIII, p 85.

(36) Pallava antiquities in two volumes by Jouveau Dubreuil

(37) The Ancient History of Conjeeveram in the *Sketches of Ancient Dekkan* by K. V. S. Aiyar.

In publishing his paper on the *yûpa* inscriptions of king Mûlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo), Dr. J Ph Vogel throws out a suggestion that there might have existed a direct intercourse between the ancient Pallava capital Kâñchî and the Archipelago. It is a well known fact that Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and Borneo abound in antiquities of Indian origin (See Book VIII in Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture)

The revived line of the Chôlas begins with Vijayâlaya who is distinguished by the title Parakêsarivarman. There are copper and lithic records which though not referring directly to his rule, mention him as a Chôla king who had well established himself on the Chôla throne. The Uttama-Chôla plates already referred to in connection with Karikâla mention the 22nd year of a Parakêsarivarman different from the later Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, 'who took Madirai and Îlam' (also referred to in the same inscription). Evidently the earlier Parakêsa is Vijayâlaya to whom also under the same title are attributed two stone records from the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeeveram¹ and another from Ukkal.

The Tiruvâlangâdu plates state that Vijayâlaya captured the city of Tañjâvûr and made it his capital and that he also built in it a temple to the goddess Nisumbhasûdanî (Durgâ). The Kanyâkumârî inscription states that he constructed the city of Tañjâpurî anew. Nos 672 to 675 and 1071 of Prof Kielhorn's "*Lists of Inscriptions of Southern India*" are attributed to Vijayâlaya. These come from Conjeeveram, Ukkal, Tirukkôvalûr and Sûchîndram. The first three are places in Tondai-mandalam and the fourth is in the Pândya kingdom outside the limits of the Chôla country.

If the resuscitation of the new Chôla line of Tanjore was due to the conquests of Vijayâlaya and its expansion in the north and south to those of his son Âditya I and his grandson Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, respectively, it is highly improbable that the records mentioned above could be attributed to the founder Vijayâlaya. Probably they are to be assigned to Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I.

It is not stated in any of the records, who the enemy was from whom Tanjore was wrested by Vijayâlaya. About the middle of the 8th century A D Tanjore and the surrounding country was under the rule of the Muttaraiyan chiefs. In the Śendalai Pillar inscription of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, the latter is styled "the king Mâran, the Lord of Tañjai (*Kô-Mâran-rañjai-kkôn*) and *Kalvar-Kalvan*², *Tañjai-nar-pugal-âlan*, a Kalva of Kalvas, the distinguished Lord of Tañjai." In another place the following phrase occurs "*nirkinra tanpanai-tôrum Tañjai-ttiram pâchi ninnâr*" "they (the cultivators) stood in the fields praising the excellence of the city of Tañjai"³. These extracts show that in the 8th century Tanjore was ruled by a family of chiefs known as the Muttarayans. From the title Mâran which Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan held, it may be gathered that he was either of Pândya descent or was a chief, subordinate to that family. At this time there was a great struggle going on between the Pallavas and the Pândyas for the political supremacy of South India. In this disturbed state of affairs, Vijayâlaya seems to have found a good opportunity to defeat the Muttaraiyan chiefs, and make himself the ruler of Tanjore and the surrounding Chôla country.

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 672 and 673

² *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIII, pp 143 and 144. It is very likely that in the title Kalvar-Kalvan we have to seek the origin of the name Kalabhra. Perhaps Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan was a member of the latter family which in the Vêlvikudi plates is said to have held the Pândya country under its sway prior to Kaṇṇigōṇ.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII, p 141

Âditya I, the son of Vijayâlaya, was the first great Chôla king that extended or rather recovered the ancestral dominions by the conquest of Tondai-mandalam. This event is referred to in the Tiruvâlangâdu plates as follows :—

“Having conquered in battle the Pallava king Aparâjita who possessed a brilliant army, though he was in name Aparâjita (i.e., unconquered) he (i.e., Âditya) took possession of his (i.e., Aparâjita's) beloved country and thus fulfilled the object of his desire.”¹

The Pallava king Aparâjita, allying himself with the Ganga king Prithivîpati I, fought a battle at Śrîpurambiyam, against the Pândya Varaguna, in which he defeated the latter though his ally lost his life in the conflict. Aparâjita's epigraphical records being found in the Tondai country up to his eighteenth year, Âditya's conquest of Aparâjita and the invasion of the Pallava dominions must have taken place only after that date. Âditya's occupation of Tondai-mandalam is confirmed by an inscription at Tirukkalukkunram² (Chingleput district) dated in the 27th year of Râjakêsarivarman Âditya I which ratifies a grant that was formerly made by the Pallava king Skandaśishya and renewed by “Vâtâpikonda Naraśingappôttaraiyar” (identified by Mr V Venkayya with the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, the conqueror of Vâtâpi).

Again a record of the 24th year of Âditya³ found at Niyamam mentions a grant made by Adigal Gandan Mârambâvai, queen of Nandippôttaraiyar of the *Pallavahlaka* family. The fact that the Pallava queen made a grant in the reign of the Chôla king, suggests that the Pallavas had been completely subdued by this time, and that Nandippôttaraiyar, the husband of Mârambâvai, was also dead. The conquest of the Tondai-mandalam earned for Âditya the epithet “*Tondai-nâdu-pâvina* Râjakêsarivarman”, i.e., Râjakêsarivarman who overran Tondai-nâdu, which is given him in an inscription at Tillasthânam.

Friendly relations appear to have existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas in the reign of Âditya I. In the Tillasthânam record mentioned above, a certain Vikki Annan is stated to have received royal honours from Âditya, as well as from his Chêra contemporary Sthânu Ravi⁴.

The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chôla give Âditya the surname Râjakêsarin only and state that he built for Śiva, large number of temples on either side of the river Kâvêri commencing from the Sahya mountain where the river takes its rise right up to the sea where it pours its waters⁵.

The Kayâkumâri inscription supplies us with the information that Âditya was also known by the surname Kôdandarâma. In later times, this same title was borne by his grandson, prince Râjâditya.

The conquest of the Kongu country by the Chôlas, should also have taken place in the reign of Âditya I. Inscriptions of Parântaka I, the son of Âditya, are found in the

¹ Below, p. 419. The Kanyâkumâri inscription states that he killed the Pallava king (perhaps) Aparâjita himself being seated on a mad elephant.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 277. Another inscription in a natural cave at Vedâl in the North Arcot district and still another at Nerkuniam in the same district have been attributed to Âditya I.

³ Below, p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

Kongu-dêsa but that monarch does not make any claim to have conquered it Therefore it is not improbable that the conquest of Kongu was achieved by Âditya himself¹

In an inscription at Tirumâlpuram (Tirumâlpêr) dated in the 14th year of the later Chôla king Âditya II, Karikâla, king Parântaka I and his predecessor Âditya I, distinguished by the epithet "Tondaimânârrûr-tuñjina-udaiyâr" (i e, the king who died at Tondaimânârrûr), are referred to The place Tondaimânârrûr has been identified by Mr V Venkayya with Tondamanâd near Kâlahasti in the North Arcot district² In this village there still exists a temple called Kôdandarâmêśvara, also mentioned in its inscriptions by the name Âdityêśvara In one of the Tondamanâd inscriptions reference is made to a "*pallippada*" (i e, a shrine built over or near a burial ground) apparently at the same village It is evident, therefore, that Âditya died at Tondaimânârrûr near Kâlahasti and that his son Parântaka I built a Śiva temple over his ashes³ On the whole, it appears that Âditya had a long and victorious reign during which he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the Chôla empire

Though a Śaiva himself, Âditya seems to have been tolerant of other religions as proved by his Vedâl inscription (No 92) In his time provision for repairs of tanks proved a special item of charity (No. 93). Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Surêśvarâchârya and a pupil's pupil of the great Śamkarâchârya, wrote his *Saṁkshêpaśârîraka* under the patronage of a certain Manukulâditya It is not unlikely that the king here referred to is Âditya I (who ruled about Śaka 800) of the Manukula (i e, the Chôla family⁴); cf names like Manukulachûlâmani-chaturvêdimangalam which occur in inscriptions The latest year of Âditya found from inscriptions being his 27th and the accession of his successor derived from astronomical calculations being 907 A D it may be inferred that Âditya I ruled from at least 879 to 907 A D

Âditya, as stated above, was succeeded by his son Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I. Prof Kielhorn, by calculating the astronomical details of date furnished in one of his inscriptions from Grâmam (North Arcot district), has come to the conclusion that Parântaka I began to reign between the 15th January and 25th July A D 907⁵ This is confirmed by the details of date combined with a total eclipse of the sun given in the Ânaimalai inscription of his 33rd year (No 106). He continued the expansion of the Chôla dominions which was begun by his father In the north, he fought against the Vaidumbas and the Bânas who were formerly the feudatories of the Pallavas The Bânas were defeated and their territory was bestowed upon the Ganga king Prithivîpati II, along with the title "the Lord of the Bânas" The Udayêndiram plates⁶ of Prithivîpati II give us an account of his connection with the Bânas and the Gangas

From his third year onwards Parântaka is called "Maduraikonda Parakêsarivarman" (i e, Parakêsarivarman who took Madura) in his inscriptions. This title he assumed after

¹ The *Kongudêsa-âjâkkal* confirms this

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, pp 71 and 72

³ This temple deserves to be one of the specially protected monuments of the Archaeological Department.

⁴ See Dr Bhandarkar's *History of the Deccan*, p 212.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p 260 ff

⁶ *Above*, Vol II, p 375 ff

his first victory over the Pândyas. It has been already suggested that prior to the rise of the Chôlas to political supremacy in Southern India, the Pallavas and the Pândyas were the dominant powers in the land

After the Pallavas had been subverted by Âditya I, the Chôlas had to deal with the Pândyas of Madura, before they could claim undisputed sway over the whole of the Southern Peninsula. The power of the Pândyas had by this time grown weak. King Varagunavarman was defeated by the Pallava king Aparâjita at the battle of Śrîpurambiyam and there were also internal dissensions among the Pândyas which weakened their power

Early therefore, in his reign, Parântaka seems to have conducted campaigns in the Pândya country against Râjasimha-Pândya, the last king of the Pândya line furnished in the Śinnamanûr plates¹, when Madura, the capital of the Pândyas, was captured by him and this gave him the occasion for assuming the title *Madirakonda*. The Kanyâ-kumârî record says that Parântaka "killed the Pândya with his whole army, robbed him of all his wealth, reduced Madhurâ to ashes and assumed the name Madhurântaka." Verse 9 of the Udayêndram plates of the Ganga-Bâna king Prithivîpati II seems to refer to this event in the following words²:—

"His army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pândya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers seized a herd of elephants, together with Madura"

The Chôla king naturally was very proud of this achievement, as the Pândyas were, till then, the dominant power in the Tamil land the hereditary dominions of the Chôlas themselves being under them. As his first campaign against the Pândyas is referred to in inscriptions of his third year, this event must have taken place in A.D. 909-10. The Vattelettu inscription at Âpaimalai, 6 miles from Madura, confirms Parântaka's capture of Madura and perhaps also his temporary occupation of it

Before his 12th year, Parântaka I had to fight a second time with the Pândyas. An inscription³ dated in the 12th year of his reign mentions a battle fought by him at Vêlûr against the combined forces of the Pândyas and Singhalese. When the Pândya king Râjasimha was defeated by the Chôla king in his first campaign, he appears to have besought the Singhalese king to take up his cause. The Tiruvâlangâdu plates say in this connection:—

"Encircled by the first of whose (i.e., the Chôla king's) prowess, the Pândya king at once entered the sea, as if intent upon quenching that affliction, in haste abandoning his royal glory and his hereditary dominion" (V 51). Again, the Udayêndram plates of the 15th year of Parântaka describe the events that followed in these words:—"Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army despatched by the Lord of Lankâ which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears, in the world, the title Sangrâmarâghava which is full of meaning"². This was, perhaps, "the fierce battle" fought at Vêlûr between Perumânadigal (i.e., Parântaka I) and the allied Pândya and Ceylon kings where four heroes fell on the occasion when Sennippêraraiyan of Araisûr made a frontal attack with his colleagues' enemy, as described in the Tiruppârkadal record (No 99)

¹ See below, No. 206.

² South Ind. Insorns., Vol. II, p. 387.

³ Below, p. 231.

Turning to the Ceylonese account, *Mahāvamsā*, we find these events corroborated. Chapter LII of that work contains the following account: "King Pāṇḍu, who had warred with the king of Chōla and was routed, sent many presents unto him (i.e., Kassapa V), that he might obtain an army from him and the king, the chief of Lankā, took counsel with his ministers and equipped an army and appointing Sakkasēnāpati to the command thereof, accompanied it himself to Mahatittha, and he stood on the shore and brought to their minds the victories of former kings, and gave them courage, and thus sent them into the ships. And Sakkasēnāpati carried them safely to the other side of the sea, and reached the Pāṇḍya country and when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased, and exclaimed, 'All Jambudvīpa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion' and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) to battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōlian race and so he abandoned the struggle and returned (to his own place). The statement here made that the Pāṇḍya king had been defeated in a previous war might refer to the events that took place in or before the third year of Parāntaka I, i.e., A.D. 909. It is also not unlikely that there was still another war between the first and the second encounters here described. These events happened in the reign of Kassapa V who, according to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsā*, reigned from A.D. 906 to 916.

Parāntaka I seems to have undertaken yet another campaign in the Pāṇḍya country, and carried his arms farther even to the island of Ceylon. After his 37th regnal year, he is styled "*Madirayum Īlamum konda Parakēsarivarman*", i.e., Parakēsarivarman who took Madura and Ceylon. This title was not adopted by him on the occasion of his victory over the allied Singhalese troops described above. The epithet "*Madirayum Īlamum konda*" was adopted only after the 37th year as we gather from inscriptions. A record at Kūram dated in his fortieth year¹ mentions that he actually entered Ceylon (*Īlam-pugunda*). The Truvālangādu plates refer to this same fact in the following terms:—

"The fire of whose anger after burning (his) enemies quenched not in the waters of the sea, (but) subsided (only) by the tears of the wives of the Singhalese (king) who was cut to pieces and killed by (his) weapons" (V. 52).

The account of this invasion of Ceylon by Parāntaka is referred to in the *Mahāvamsā* as follows —

In the reign of Udaya III (A.D. 941-9) who was a weak king addicted to drink and slothfulness, the Chōla king sent an embassy to him, asking for the crown, etc., that the Pāṇḍya king had deposited with him in the reign of Dappula V (A.D. 917 to 929) evidently after the defeat of Vēlūr, so that he may be duly inaugurated as the overlord of the Pāṇḍya country. When this request was refused, the Chōla king sent an army to Ceylon, which slew the commander of the Singhalese forces. The Singhalese king fled to the Rōhana district, taking with him the regal insignia of the Pāṇḍya king. The Chōlas were not able to enter the Rōhana country, and returned to India, without accomplishing the object for which the expedition was undertaken. As Parāntaka's invasion of Ceylon happened only after his 37th year, i.e., A.D. 944, the above account of the *Mahāvamsā* must correctly refer to the conquest of Īlam (Ceylon) by Parāntaka².

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 525.

Towards the close of his reign, Parântaka I seems to have received a check to his victorious career at the hands of the Râshtrakûta king Krishna III. The latter king's invasion of the Chôla country and the capture of Tanjore and Conjeeveram must have taken place during the lifetime of Parântaka. For, Parântaka's son, prince Râjâditya who was the Viceroy in the northern Chôla dominions and was the first to oppose the invader was killed at Takkôlam while fighting from the back of an elephant, by the Gaṅga prince Bûtuga, an ally and a near kinsman of Krishna III. The Kanyâkumârî inscription of Virarâjendra states that Krishna III was actually defeated by Parântaka I. This might refer to an earlier campaign other than the one in which Râjâditya lost his life and the capital towns Kâñchî (Conjeeveram) and Tañjâvûr (Tanjore) belonging to the Chôla king were captured by the Râshtrakûta invader. The last regnal year so far found out for Parântaka is 46, which is taken from a record of his found at Kandyûr¹. This corresponds to A.D. 953-54. Krishna III is said to have died in the Śaka year 889² and his highest known regnal year is 30. Consequently, he should have ascended the throne at least in Śaka 859 (= 937 A.D.). Dr. Fleet's earliest date for him is 940. He had invaded the Tondai-mandalam before his fifth year as an inscription of his, of that year, is found at a place called Siddhalūgamadam. Râjâditya's death occurred in the year 949 to 950 A.D. and the actual entry of Krishna III into Tondai-mandalam is mentioned in a Śôlapuram record³ which states that the second year of that entry corresponded to Śaka 871 (= 949 A.D.). Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Krishna's Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from 949 A.D. Therefore, we may come to the conclusion that prior to 949 Krishna III was making attempts to invade the Chôla country and that in one of these he was repelled by Parântaka. About this time, Parântaka, as we already know, had his hands full with the affairs of the Pândyan and Singhalese wars. In the meanwhile, the Râshtrakûta king seems to have pushed through his hostilities vigorously which resulted in the death of the prince. Parântaka seems to have survived his son for about five years.

Parântaka's dominions comprised almost the whole of the Tamil country right up to Nellore (No 108). By the defeat of the Pândya king Râjasimha, the Pândyas also acknowledged Parântaka as their ruler. That he really held sway over that part of the country is proved by the fact that his inscriptions are found in the Madura and Tinnevely districts. On the east coast, his dominions should have extended as far as Nellore, for one of his Tiruvorriyûr records (No 108), dated in the 34th year of his reign (= A.D. 941), states that a subordinate of Parântaka named Śembiyan Śôlhyavaraiyan of Sirukulattûr was returning from the conquest of Śîtpulî after destroying Nellûr. In the west an inscription of his reign has been found at Sôlmûr near Karur. The Western Ganga king Prithivîpati II, whose dominions lay partly in the Mysore State, was his feudatory⁴. The friendly relations that existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas as already gathered from the Tillasthânam inscription of Âditya I (No 89) were further strengthened during this reign. One of the queens of Parântaka who bore him the son Ariñjaya was a daughter of the Kêrala prince Paluvêttaraiyar⁵. Queen Villavan Mahâdêviyâr mentioned in a Tirukkalâvûr inscription

¹ No. 2 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1895.

² No. 236 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1913.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

⁴ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1904-05, p. 133.

⁵ Anbil grant of Sundara-Chôla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50).

(No 110) may be identical with this daughter of Paluvéttaraiyar. Two other queens of Parântaka I were Kilânadigal or Kôkkilânadigal, the mother of Ânaimeṛruṇjinar Râjâditya and Âdittan Karraḷppirâtti. In the Grâmam inscription of Parântaka¹, mention is made of a general of prince Râjâditya, who came from the Kêrala country. Several of the Tirunâmânallûr inscriptions also mention natives of Malabar as the personal servants of prince Râjâditya. It appears that he had a special regiment of soldiers or a class of servants called the "Malayâla retinue". Princess Ravi-Nîli, the daughter of the Chêra king Vijayarâgadêva, is reported to have made some offerings to the temple at Tiruvorriyûr in the Chôla country². All these facts go to prove that the relations between the Kêralas and the Chôlas during the reign of Parântaka were of a very cordial nature, and that there was a steady influx of people from Malabar to the Tamil country.

Though this king was engaged for the greater part of his long reign in warlike operations, yet he was not unmindful of the victories of peace. That the internal administration of his country was a matter in which he took a keen interest, is amply proved by the inscriptions of Uttaramallûr, in which the rules for the conduct of the village assemblies were minutely laid down. The village institutions of South India, of course, date from a much earlier period than that of Parântaka I, but he introduced many salutary reforms for the proper administration of local self-Government.

Nor was the religious side neglected. Many a temple in the Tamil land owed much to his bounty. The booty which he had acquired in his numerous wars he seems to have spent in embellishing the shrine of Natarâja at Chidamdaram. The Tiruvâlaṅgâdu plates say that he covered with gold the "small hall" at Chidambaram. He performed the *tulâbhâra* and *hêmagarbha* gifts, made grants of land to Brahmins, and built many temples. He was a devout Śaiva in religion, though in accordance with the laudable custom among most of the great Indian monarchs, he was tolerant of all the other creeds that were prevailing within his dominions.

In addition to the surnames which have been already noticed he bore the epithets Vîranârâyana, Vîrakîrti (No 108), Vîra-Chôla, Vikrama-Chôla and Irumadi-Śôla³. We learn from the Uttaramallûr inscriptions that he also bore the following *birudas*.—Dêvêndran (lord of the gods), Chakravartin (the emperor), Panditavatsalan (fond of learned men), Kuñjaramallan (the wrestler with elephants) and Śûrachûlâman (the crest jewel of the heroes). He is also said to have resembled the celestial tree in his gifts. One of his sons, Râjâditya, has been already mentioned. Kôdandarâma was a surname of this prince as it was of his grandfather Âditya I. The second son of Parântaka was Gandarâditya, who figures as the author of one of the hymns in the Tamil *Tiruvîraippâ*. Arikulakêsari, Arndama or Ariñjaya (Ariñjagai in Tamil) was also another of his sons. A still another son of Parântaka who figures in inscriptions is Parântakan Uttamaśîli. He does not appear to have lived long enough to succeed to the Chôla throne, but appears to have given his name to the village Uttamaśîli-chaturvêdimangalam in Vilâ-nâdu and to the irrigation canal called Uttamaśîli-vâykal.

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1905-06

² *Below*, p. 235

³ *Irumadi* or correctly *Irmadi* means 'twice' and the epithet signifies that Parântaka I was the 'second great king in the family,' the first perhaps being his father Âditya I.

From the death of Parântaka I., which must have occurred about the year A.D. 953, to the accession of the great Râjarâja I in A.D. 985, Chôla history is obscure. During this period of 33 years there were five princes who must have occupied the throne. The irregular order of their succession suggests that there must have been internal feuds among the different members of the royal family. We have seen above that the eldest son of Parântaka I., prince Râjâditya, lost his life in the battle of Takkôlam before the death of his father. Therefore, this prince could not have reigned over the Chôla dominions, though it is stated in the Leyden plates that he became king after Parântaka I. It is significant that the Tiruvâlangâdu grant does not make him a ruler.

Parântaka I was perhaps succeeded by his second son Râjakêsarivarman Gandarâditya. Some inscriptions of a "Madiraikonda Râjakêsarivarman" have been ascribed to Gandarâditya¹. One of these which is dated in his 8th year (No. 112) mentions Âlvâr Arikulakêsaridêva. The epithet Âlvâr is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time. Another is dated in the 17th year of this king. No event of any importance seems to have taken place in his reign. A part of the Chôla dominions must have been under the Râshtrakûtas. The Chôla power was, for the time being, eclipsed. Hence the paucity of inscriptions during his reign. Some religious hymns extant in Tamil under the authorship of Gandarâditya are attributed to him. These show that he must have been a king with a religious bent of mind. Gandarâditya's queen was Udaiyapirâttyâr *alias* Mâdêvadigalâr Śembiyan Mâdêviyâr who bore him a son called Madhurântaka Uttama-Chôla. At the time of Gandarâditya's death, Uttama-Chôla must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gandarâditya had ruled and died. His mother survived her husband for a long time. She seems to have been a pious lady, as she figures in several inscriptions, making donations to various temples.

If Arikulakêsarî, Arakêsarî, Arinjaya or Arindama, died before the 8th year of Gandarâditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arikulakêsarî who, as the Anbil plates say, was prince Sundara-Chôla born of a Vaidumba princess. He succeeded to the Chôla throne under the name of Parântaka II., and bore the titles Râjakêsarivarman² and Râjendra. In his stone inscriptions Sundara-Chôla assumes the epithet "*Pândiyancchuram-irakkina*", i.e., who caused the Pândya king to enter the forest. The large Leyden grant records that he fought a sanguinary battle at Chêûr, but it does not mention the name of the enemy. It also says that his son Âditya II, while yet a boy, played sportively with Vîra-Pândya, as a lion's cub with an infuriated elephant. Therefore, it may be presumed that Âditya-Karikâla was the chosen heir-apparent and that Sundara-Chôla's adversary mentioned above was the Pândya king Vîra-Pândya. It is also worthy of note that after Parântaka I, Sundara-Chôla was the next king that fought with the Pândyas. In an inscription of the reign of Râjarâja I, one of the generals of Sundara-Chôla named Parântakan Śriyavêlâr *alias* Tirukkaṇṇalî Pichchan of Kodumbâlûr is said to have died in a battle-field in Ceylon in the 9th year of *Ponmâlgar-tuṇjina-dêvar*³, i.e., Parântaka II, the father of Râjarâja I. This campaign in which the general of Sundara-Chôla lost his

¹ Below pp. 246 ff.

² This title suggests that Sundara-Chôla's actual predecessor or elected predecessor must have been a Parakêsarivarman, and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gandarâditya, bore this surname but may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 121 ff.

life must have occurred during the reign of the Singhalese king Mahinda IV, in whose reign, as stated in the *Mahāvamsā* (Chapter LIV), there was a fight with Vallabha¹, (i.e., the Chôla king), in which it is stated, that Mahinda's general defeated the Chôla army. The date ascribed by Wijesinha to Mahinda IV does not fit in with the time of Parântaka II., but if we deduct the error of 23 years which, according to Dr Hultzsch has crept into this part of the chronology of the *Mahāvamsā*, Mahinda's reign would fall into the same period as that of Sundara-Chôla². It is interesting to note that the general Śrīyavêlâr or Śrīuvêla was a member of the royal family being the son of the daughter of king Parântaka I who was perhaps identical with the Chôla princess Anupamâ, the queen of Samarâbhirâma of the Irungôla race (No 121). The Anbil plates³ which are dated in the 4th year of this king's reign, mention a Brahman minister of his named Aniruddha-Brahmâdhirâja.

As stated already, Sundara-Chôla is referred to in later Chôla inscriptions as *pon-mâlgar-tuñjina dêvar*, i.e., the king who died in the golden palace. He was a very powerful ruler, much loved by his subjects. The Tiruvâlângâdu grant says that his subjects believed him to be Manu come to the earth to establish his laws which had become lax under the influence of the Kali age. His queen was Vânavanmahâdêvi⁴ who committed *satî* at the death of her husband. Her daughter Kundavai, who had married a Pallava chief named Vandya-dêvar set up an image of her in the temple at Tanjore.

If Gandarâditya ruled for at least 17 years—that being the latest regnal year obtained from inscriptions for him—and Parântaka I died in 947 A.D., not taking into account the date of a doubtful inscription which gives the 46th year of his reign, the accession of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II will fall in or about 964 A.D. which coincides with the accession of Udaya III of Ceylon, as given in Wijesinha's translation of the *Mahāvamsā*. Sundara-Chôla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th. But from a later inscription of the time of Râjarâja I we learn that in the 9th year of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II a deadly battle was fought in Ceylon, perhaps with Udaya III, in which a general of Sundara-Chôla, by name Śrīyavêlân died. Perhaps, Sundara-Chôla died soon after and we may for the sake of a tentative chronology give him a reign of 10 years. This brings us to A.D. 974.

Between him and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gandarâditya, must be accommodated Parakêsarivarman Âditya II Karikâla, a son of Sundara-Chôla and elder brother of Râjarâja I, and Pârthivêndravarman, Pârthivêndrâdivarman, Pârthivêndrâdhīpativarman, Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman, Parakêsarī Vêndirâdivarman or the Paramamahârâja Râjamârâyar. Both these kings claim the epithet, 'who took the head of Pândya or Vîra-Pândya—evidently the same Pândya king who was at war with Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II—and the title Parakêsarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Tondai-mandalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and Viceroy of Tondai-mandalam. Âditya Karikâla appears to have been the actual successor. He reigned for 6 years and was succeeded

¹ This is a Sanskritized form of the Tamil word *Valavan* which is synonymous with the word *Chôla*.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 517 ff

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 to 72

⁴ Another queen mentioned in inscriptions was Parântakandêvi—Ammanâr, the daughter of a Chêra king.

in 969 A.D. by Parakêsarivarman Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gandarâditya. The circumstances under which the crown instead of going to Arunmohivarman Râjarâja I, the younger brother of Âditya II Karikâla, went to Uttama-Chôla Madhurântaka are explained in the Tiruvâlangâdu plates.

The successions of Chôla kings from Vijayâlaya to Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II have so far presented no difficulty. The statement of the Tiruvâlangâdu plates regarding the reigns of the princes Râjâditya *alias* Kôdaudarâma and Arikulakêsarî *alias* Ariñjiga or Arindama, sons of Parântaka I, cannot be accepted literally. The one died as Viceroy of Tondai-mandalam even before his father and the other during the reign of Gandarâditya. Before, therefore, going on to the reign of Uttama-Chôla, it is necessary to fix approximately at any rate the period of rule of Sundara-Chôla who succeeded Gandarâditya under the surname Râjakêsarivarman¹ and of his son Parakêsarî Âditya II Karikâla. Sundara-Chôla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th². But we have seen above that in the 9th year of his reign a fierce battle was fought in Ceylon with the king of that island and that the Chôla general Śiriyavêlân fell in it. This shows that Sundara-Chôla should have reigned at least for nine years or roughly ten years, though his dated inscriptions which are later than his 5th year are not forthcoming. When did Sundara-Chôla succeed to the throne?

Parakêsarivarman Âditya II, surnamed Karikâla and Râjarâja I surnamed Arunmohivarman were the two sons of Parântaka II, and Kundavai, his daughter. The Leyden plates say that Âditya II as a boy played sportively in battle with Vîra-Pândya and was his chosen successor to the Chôla throne. In inscriptions he is referred to as Parakêsarivarman who took the head of Vîra-Pândya. It is also stated that he killed the Pândya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory³. He seems to have had a short reign only, as noted in the sequel, and nothing else worthy of note is recorded of him in inscriptions.

We have stated that Parakêsarivaraman Uttama-Chôla Madhurântaka was the son of Gandarâditya and that after the death of his father, he had to wait to ascend the throne till his cousin brother Sundara-Chôla and the latter's son Âditya II Karikâla had reigned and died. It might have been so for the reason that he was an infant at the time of his father's death, or that the troubled state of the country required a man of maturer years at the helm of affairs. At any rate, his claim was set aside for the time being. Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Râjakêsarivarman, his predecessor Âditya II being Parakêsarivarman, he too was called a Parakêsarivarman, evidently because he was the son of a Râjakêsarivarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed but at the request of his cousin's son Râjarâja I who was the chosen successor. For, according to the Tiruvâlangâdu plates, after the death of Âditya II Karikâla, the people wanted Arunmohivarman his brother to be their king, but that noble prince refused to accept the offer saying that so long as his uncle Uttama-Chôla was desirous of dominion, he would be satisfied with the heir-apparentship⁴.

¹ The adoption of the title Râjakêsarivarman could be explained by saying that the claims of Gandarâditya's chosen successor, viz, his son Parakêsarivarman Uttama-Chôla were temporarily set aside and postponed.

² No. 122, dated in the 14th year of Râjêkêsarivarman has been attributed to Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II, but may more probably belong to the reign of Râjarâja I.

³ See below, p 420, V. 68.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, V. 69.

In the Mahâlingasvâmin temple at Tiruvidaimarudûr, there is an inscription which couples the 13th year of Uttama-Chôla with Kaliyuga 4083 thus yielding 969 A.D. as the initial date of his reign. Uttama-Chôla seems to have reigned for at least 16 years, which is the date quoted in the Madras Museum plates of this king.

Râjarâja's achievements are fully described in the introduction to Volume II by Mr. Venkayya. His son was Râjendra-Chôla I, who was a greater monarch than his father and carried the Chôla arms into regions never penetrated before. During the lifetime of his father he seems to have been entrusted with the affairs of the country. No inscriptions of Râjendra-Chôla prior to his third regnal year are found. Evidently, during these three years, he was ruling as co-regent with his father. According to Professor Kielhorn the reign of Râjendra-Chôla commenced between 27th March and 7th July 1012 A.D.¹

Between the third year and the twelfth he seems to have undertaken and carried out successfully a vast scheme of conquests in many directions. In some at least of these, he merely acted as a deputy of his father. When he ascended the throne he found the Chôla power firmly established. He had only to carry on to its legitimate conclusion the ambitious scheme of expansion started in the previous reign. Before his father Râjarâja could embark on his career of conquests he had to enlist and train up an army, but Râjendra-Chôla had inherited "the great warlike army" whose services are referred to in every inscription. From some of his Tamil inscriptions it is learnt that this army of his was commanded by Śôlamûvêndavêlân and that Narâkkan Râman the commander of Râjarâja's forces and the superintendent of the building operations of the Brihadiśvara temple at Tanjore continued to hold the same office till at least the 32nd year of Râjendra-Chôla.² His inscriptions up to the 5th year mention the conquests of Idaturai-nâdu, Vanavâsi, Kollippâkkai, Mannakkadakkam and Ceylon. Idaturainâdu has been identified with Ededore "2,000" lying between the rivers Krishnâ and Tungabhadra comprising a large part of the present Raichûr district. Vanavâsi is identical with Banavâsi in the North Kanara district and Kollippâkkai must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom somewhere in the Hyderabad State, for it was set on fire by Râjâdhirâja I in the course of a war against Sômesvara I and Vikramâditya VI, and is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II.³ The capture of Kollippâkkai must have been effected as a result of the war against the Western Châlukya Irivabedanga Satyâśraya conducted under the direct leadership of Râjendra-Chôla while Râjarâja was yet living. A record of Uttattûr states that in this war a certain Râjamalla Muttaraiyan who was placed in charge of the elephant troops was killed while piercing the elephant of Satyâśraya under the orders of the king. This must have happened on the occasion when, according to the Hottûr inscription⁴, "Nûrmaḍi-Chôla" Râjendra (i.e., Râjendra-Chôla I) had collected a force numbering 900,000, had pillaged the whole country, had slaughtered the women, the children and the Brâhmanas, and taking the girls to wife, had destroyed their caste." The Hottûr record is dated in

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 217.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 230.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, p. 23

⁴ Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 438.

⁵ The title 'Nûr-maḍi' "the hundred times (powerful)" implies not that he was the hundredth powerful king in that family but that he was the most powerful.

A.D. 1007, but the *Ūttattūr* inscription belongs to the 3rd year (A.D. 1013-14) of Rājendra-Chōla I. We cannot help remarking with regret on the striking infringement of the ancient moralities of war by this king, however great his military achievements were. In place of Mannaikkadakkam the Kanyākumāri inscription states that Rājendra-Chōla made Mānyakhēta the playground for his armies and accordingly it looks as if Mannaikkadakkam is identical with Mānyakhēta, as already suggested by me in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII. Mannaikonda-Chōla seems to be one of the surnames assumed by the king in commemoration of his conquest of Mānyakhēta (also known as Mannaikadakkam or simply Mannai). Under this name a pavilion was erected in the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr¹. In all probability Rājendra-Chōla I had to quell some insurrections in these places.

During the reign of Rājarāja I, the Chōla authority was firmly established over the northern half of Ceylon and this is proved by the existence of his inscriptions there and by the grant of revenues of certain villages in Ceylon to the temple at Tanjore which was built by him. Rājendra-Chōla I claims in his inscriptions "to have seized the crown of the king of Īlam on the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crown of his queens, the beautiful crown and the pearl necklace of Indra which the king of the South, i.e., the Pāndya had previously deposited with that king of Īlam and the whole of Īla-mandala on the transparent sea." That the Pāndya king deposited his crown and apparel with the king of Ceylon is mentioned in the 53rd chapter of the *Mahāvamśa* and the Pāndya inscriptions mention the necklace of Indra as an heirloom of Pāndya kings. According to the account given in the *Mahāvamśa*, king Mahinda V, in the 36th year of his reign, was captured together with his queen by the Chōla army and sent as prisoner to the Chōla king. Among the booty was the crown that was preserved by inheritance, the priceless diamond bracelet that was a gift of the gods, the sword that could not be broken and the sacred fillet. King Mahinda V died in the 48th year of his accession in the Chōla country after spending twelve years in captivity. So, it becomes clear that Rājendra-Chōla completed the conquest of Ceylon which was begun in the reign of his father. Thereafter for several years Ceylon formed a province of the Chōla empire and was surnamed Mummaḍi-Śōlamandalam, after the well-known surname Mummaḍi-Chōla of Rājarāja I. According to the *Mahāvamśa* these events took place in A.D. 1036, while the Tamil inscriptions show that they must have happened before 1017 A.D. Professor Hultzsch has shown in his article entitled "Contributions to Singhalese chronology" that there is an error of some 23 years in the chronology of this part of the *Mahāvamśa*. Applying this correction, the two accounts which of course refer to the same events, can be made to synchronise.

Between the 5th and the 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla's reign, the province of Malabar was also added to his conquests. The Tiruvālangādu plates state that Rājendra-Chōla appointed his son Chōla-Pāndya as viceroy of the Pāndya country, as well as of the newly conquered Kēraḷa dominions. He seems to have adopted this step seeing that the Pāndyas had ever been a source of trouble to the Chōlas from the time of Parāntaka I. The Chōla-Pāndya viceroy appointed by him has been identified with Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya whose Mannārkoyil inscription has shown that he was ruling contemporaneously with Rājendra-Chōla I. It may be noted that the appointment of members of the Chōla family as viceroys of conquered territories started by this king was continued in the successive reigns².

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, para 24.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XI, pp 292 ff.

Between his 7th and 9th years Rājendra-Chôla was engaged in subduing the seven and a half lakhs country of Irattapâdi. This was the country of the Western Châlukya kings ruled over at this time by Jayasimha II (A. D. 1018-1042). In his own inscriptions, Jayasimha claims to have defeated the Chôlas. As both of them boast of having defeated each other, the fact ought to have been either that the success was on both sides alternately or that neither of the two obtained lasting advantage. Along with the Kêralas he is stated to have taken possession of the island of Sândimat. What this island is, is not known.

The inscriptions of his twelfth year mention a number of places which do not appear in the list of conquests mentioned in the records of his ninth year. During these three years, he must have carried on an extensive campaign. He is said to have taken Śakkarakôttam, Maduramandalam, Nâmanaiikkônâṁ, Mâsunidêśam and Pañchappalli; to have defeated a certain Indraratha of the lunar race at Âdmagar and to have taken him and his family captive; to have captured Odda-vishaya and Kôśalai-nâdu; to have defeated Dharmapâla and annexed Dandabutti; to have subdued Ranaśûra of Takkana-Lâdam: to have overcome Gôvmdachandra of Vangâladêśa; to have put to flight Mahîpâla and to have taken Uttara-Lâdam and the Gangâ.

Of the places mentioned here, it may be noted that Sakkarakôttam has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chakrakôta, 8 miles distant from Râjapura in the Bastar State, which was under the rule of king Dhâravarsha when Kulôttunga I was the Chôla sovereign. Dr. Hultzsch is of opinion that Maduramandalam is different from the Pândya country and that it must refer to the northern Mathura on the Yamunâ river.¹ Here it may be noted that one of the kings of Râjapura called himself Madhurântakadêva perhaps on account of his capture of Madhurâ. It is not likely that he could have marched against Madhurâ of the south to earn this title. Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that Madhura or Maduramandalam was the name of a district not far from Chakrakôta bordering on the Vêngî country. Nâmanaiikkônâṁ, Pañchappalli and Mâsunidêśam have not yet been identified. Professor Kielhorn suggests that Indraratha of the lunar race captured by Rājendra-Chôla at Âdmagar may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaipûr inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ. Odda-vishaya is the province of Orissa and Kôśalai-nâdu is southern Kôśala. Dandabutti and its ruler Dharmapâla are not known from any other sources. Mr. R. D. Banerji is of opinion that the Takkana-Lâdam of the Tamil inscriptions is distinct both from Gujarat (Lâta) and the territory of southern Bêrâr (Virâta), and that it should correspond to Dakshina-Râdha a part of modern Bengal.² Uttara-Lâdam must, accordingly, denote the northern part of it. Mahîpâla whom the Chôla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Professor Kielhorn with the Pâla king Mahîpâla I.

Most of the places mentioned here were conquered by Rājendra-Chôla I in his campaign against the north for the purpose of bringing the sacred water of the Ganges, which earned for him the title Gangaikonda-Chôla. The object of Rājendra-Chôla in undertaking this campaign is referred to in the Tiruvâlangâdu grant thus³ :—

“This light of the solar race, laughing at Bhagîratha who had brought down the Ganges to the earth from heaven by the power of his austerities, wished to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganges. Accordingly, he ordered the commander of the army, who had powerful battalions under his control, who was the resort of heroism and the foremost of diplomats, to subdue the enemy kings occupying the countries on the banks of that river.”

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 3 IX, p. 230.

² *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI, p. 7 f.

³ *Religion* n. 424 Vv 109 and 110.

The conquest of Northern India by the Chôlas must have taken place in 1023 A D. The above account shows that it was a general of the Chôla king who conducted this campaign. But it is somewhat difficult to believe how a single Chôla army could overrun within one year such a vast tract of country. It is also said that after vanquishing the kings of the Ganggetic countries Râjendra-Chôla's general caused the water of the sacred river to be brought to the Chôla capital on the heads of the conquered kings¹. A stone record of the king found at Ennâyiram in the South Arcot district contains interesting information regarding the conquest of the northern region by the king himself, of his stately return march with all the splendour of the conqueror, of his wedding the Gangâ and hence assuming the title Gangaikonda-Chôla and building a hall called after the title at Ennâyiram and feeding a number of people in it. The wording of the inscription seems to indicate that Râjendra-Chôla I was himself engaged in the expedition against the kings of Northern India (*Uttarâpâiha*) and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he did not entrust the management of it merely to his generals as the wording of the Tiruvâlangâdu plates at first sight would imply². Though the date of the record is effaced, the conquests enumerated in it show that it cannot be earlier than A D 1023. It is interesting to note that charities which it registers for the maintenance of a hostel and a college for religious instruction of every description, were made to secure success to the arms of the king, showing clearly that the king was at the time engaged in the war. It must have been during this northern invasion that Râjendra-Chôla had the lords of the Kulûta and the Utkala countries slain by his generals as reported in the Kanyâkumâri inscription³. The encounter with the Kulûta king is also referred to in an inscription of the king found at Mahêndragiri where he is said to have set up a pillar of victory. The Kanyâkumâri inscription adds Kalinga to the list of the king's conquests. After this invasion of northern India there seems to have been considerable communication between the kings of northern India and the Chôla country. During the reign of Râjâdhirâja I, the son and successor of Râjendra-Chôla I, the title "Protector of the people of Kannakuchchi" (Kanyâkubja, *i.e.*, Kanauj) was bestowed on one of the royal princes. This shows that Kanauj had close relations with the Chôlas. In an inscription of Kulôttunga I found at Gangaikondachôlapuram, the usual introduction of the inscriptions of the Gâhadavâla king Gôvindrachandra occurs after the name of the Chôla king. As the *prasasti* of the Gâhadavâla king was put in after the name of Kulôttunga I, it seems as if the Chôlas had some sort of suzerainty over that northern power.

In commemoration of this memorable campaign in which the waters of the Gangâ were carried on the heads of the subdued kings, the Chôla king founded a new city, which he called Gangaikondachôlapuram. In this city, Râjendra-Chôla built a great temple on the model of the Râjarâjêśvara temple at Tanjore, built by his father. This city was the capital of Chôla emperors for about 100 years. Its original name seems to have been Mudikondachôlapuram, after another surname of the king, and afterwards changed into that of Gangaikondachôlapuram. It had also the name Gaṅgâpurî.

Great as were the military achievements of Râjendra-Chôla I in the mainland of India, he acquired even greater fame by his naval engagements, which took place on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, a feat not attempted by any sovereign of India till his time. It is said

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1911-12, p 173.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1918, paragraph 25.

³ *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. III, p 157.

that he despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea, captured Samgrāmaṣṭungavarman, the king of Kadāram, along with his vehicles and accumulated treasure, took Śrī-Vishaya, Pannai, Malaiyūr, Māyirudṅgam, Ilangāśōkam, Māppappālam, Mēvilimbangam, Valaippandūru, Takkōlam, Mādamalingam, Ilāmuriḍēśam, Nakkavāram and Kadāram. Samgrāmaṣṭungavarman, the king against whom this war was waged with great advantage to the Chōlas was probably a successor of Māraṣṭungavarman of the *Śailēndravamśa*, the lord of Śrī-Vishaya, who while extending the kingdom of Katāha, is reported in the Leyden plates to have built a lofty and beautiful monastery at Nāgappattanam and called it Chūdāmanivarman-vihāra, after the name of his father Chūdāmanivarman. Since it is stated in the plates that both Rājārāja I and Rājendra-Chōla I patronised the *viḥāra*, it appears that Samgrāmaṣṭungavarman, proving refractory, Rājendra-Chōla had to take the extreme step of conquering the whole of his kingdom—in which must have been included all the places mentioned above—and depriving him of his wealth. It is also learnt that Rājendra-Chōla (*Shih-h-lo-cha-yu-to-lo-chu-lo*) sent an embassy to China, though we do not know what his intentions were in that direction¹.

Among the places mentioned in the final campaign of the king, Śrī-Vishaya or Śrī-Vijaya has been taken to be the same as *San-fo-tsu* of the Chinese annals and identified by Mr George Coedes with the residency of Palambang in Sumatra, Nakkavāram and Pappālam stand respectively for the Nicobar islands and a port of that name in Burma, Takkōlam has been identified with Takōpa on the western part of the Malay Peninsula and Kadāram is located in lower Burma. Rest of the places are not known.

We shall here notice a few facts concerning the relations of Rājendra-Chōla I. Kundavai, the eldest sister of his father married a chief named Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, who figures as a feudatory in some of the inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I. The king's sister, the younger Kundavai, was married to the Eastern Chālukya Vimalāditya and this prince was in the Chōla dominions for some time, though the object of his mission is not known. Rājendra-Chōla had several queens. One of them was Pañchavanmahādēvi; another was Danti-Pirāttiyār² and a third Vīramahādēvi. Of the last, an inscription of Rājādhirāja states that she entered the supreme feet of Brahmā (i.e., died) in the very year of demise of Rājendra-Chōla I and was buried in the very tomb of that king³. This tomb in which the bodies of the two royal personages were deposited might possibly have been at Brahmāḍēśam in the North Arcot district. As the record is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja, it is inferred that, Rājendra-Chōla died in that year, i.e., A.D. 1044 and that his queen Vīramahādēvi committed *satī* and was buried with him⁴. The Kanyākumārī inscription settles the relationship of Rājendra-Chōla I and his successors Rājādhirāja, Rājendradēva and Vīra-Rājendra. It states that like unto the three fires of a sacrifice there were born to Rājendra-Chōla I three sons of whom the first was Rājādhirāja and that Rājendradēva and Vīra-Rājendra were his younger brothers⁵. Ammaṅgā was the name of his daughter who married the Eastern Chālukya king Rājārāja I. Their son was Kulōttunga I.

¹ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 257.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912-13, p. 98.

³ No. 260 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1915.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, paragraph 14.

⁵ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 120.

King Rājendra-Chôla I struck coins in his own name. They are referred to in his inscriptions under the names Rājendrasôlan-kâsu and Madurântakadêvan-mâdai. Besides these, Râjarâjan-kâsu issued in the time of Râjarâja I was also current in his time¹.

Of the literary activity displayed in the Chôla country during the period of Rājendra-Chôla's rule, we know very little. Śaiva works of the type of *Siddhântasârâvali* must have been largely written and patronised by the king who was himself a devout Śaiva. Jaina and Buddhist literature also had its share of royal patronage. From the *Upāsakajanâlankāra* of the Mahâthêra Ânanda, a manuscript of which has been reviewed by Dr. Barnett in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1901, pp. 87 to 90, it may be inferred that the king lent his patronage to Buddhist literature. Dr. Barnett thought that the Chôla-Gangâ mentioned in the *Upāsakajanâlankāra* was identical with Anantavarman Chôdaganga. This could not be, for, in the first place, the latter is not a Chôla but an Eastern Gangâ king who ruled at Kalinganagara which has been identified with Mukhalingam in the Pârlakimedli estate, Ganjam district. Pândubhûmandala is stated to be the country where Chôla-Ganga was ruling as a *sāmanta* (a subordinate ruler) perhaps as the viceroy of his father. This fact makes the chances of his identity with Anantavarman Chôdaganga very problematical. Consequently, a different identification has to be sought for. The king mentioned is in my opinion the famous Chôla emperor Rājendra-Chôla I who was also called Gangaikonda-Chôla on account of his having subdued the country about Gangai, i.e., the Ganges. His conquests, as we know, were many and spread practically over the whole of India and extended even to Ceylon. The Tiruvâlangâdu grant clearly states that Rājendra-Chôla I, also called Madhurântaka, took possession of the wealth of the Pândya king, placed there his own son Chôla-Pândya for the protection of the Pândya country, and that he constructed in his capital the tank called Chôlagangam evidently so named after one of his own titles. This last fact decisively proves the identity of the king mentioned in the *Upāsakajanâlankāra* with king Rājendra-Chôla I. The name Gunâkara-Perumpalli which the king is stated to have given to one of the three *vikâras* which he founded in Ceylon also clearly indicates that the builder was a Tamil king.

Rājendra-Chôla I succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1012 and ruled till at least A.D. 1044. His position as a *sāmanta* in the Pândya country must have been during the early years of his heir-apparentcy prior to A.D. 1012. The identification of Chôlaganga with Rājendra-Chôla will thus alter the dates and the identification of the Mahâthêra Ânanda, the author of *Upāsakajanâlankāra*.

In addition to the surnames Gangaikonda-Chôla, Mudigonda-Chôla and Chôlaganga, which have been noticed above, Rājendra-Chôla also had the surnames Madhurântaka, Nigarîli-Chôla and Pandita-Chôla. The last name shows that he must have been considered a scholar in Sanskrit. It is also stated in the *Siddhântasârâvali* of Trilôchanaśivâchârya that Rājendra-Chôla on the occasion of his visit to the Ganges saw there the best of the Śaivas and brought them with him and settled them at Kâñichî and other places in the Chôla country. Information about Râjâdhirâja and his successors could be gathered from the elaborate introductions to their inscriptions given by Prof. Hultzsch in parts I, II and III.

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913, paragraph 23.

VOLUME III—PART IV

No. XVII.—COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR, TIRUKKALAR AND TIRUCHCHENGODU.

No. 206 —TWO PANDYA COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR.

These are two of the four sets of Pândya copper plate grants discovered so far and are herein published for the first time. The Vêlvikudî grant of Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan has been edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 to 309 and the Madras Museum Plates of Jatilavarman, by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 to 75. These four, studied together, furnish a genealogy of the Pândyas from the early king Kadungôn, who is said to have flourished at the close of the first Śāngam of Tamil poets, down to Râjasimha-Pândya¹, the contemporary of the Chôla king Parântaka I, who reigned at the commencement of the 10th century A.D. With the invasion of the latter into the Pândya country and his capture of Madura, which earned for him the title 'Madirakonda', the early Pândya power seems to have come to an end, and made room, for the next two centuries at least, for the unchallenged sway of the Chôlas over the whole of Southern India.

The two grants under consideration have been thoroughly reported in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-1907, pp. 62 ff. Speaking of their provenance, Mr. Venkayya states "the plates are reported to have been found about 20 or 25 years ago (now nearly forty years) while digging for the foundation of the kitchen in the Vishnu temple at Sinnamanûr² in the Periyakulam taluka of the Madura district, and have since been purchased for deposit in the Madras Museum, from their owner Mr. Rajam Ayyar."

The bigger of the two sets consists of seven copper plates, measuring approximately 10" by 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The thin rims which they once seem to have had, are now completely worn out. The plates are numbered on their obverse sides, with the Tamil numerals 2 to 8 close to the right side of the ring hole, thus showing that the first plate, whose obverse must have borne the number 1, is now lost. The last plate ending with the word *Karkulattil*, also shows that one or more plates which contained the last portion of the grant are lost. The ring which held the plates together and which, judging by the size of the ring holes in the middle of the left margin of each plate, must have been a little less than $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness, is missing. The existing seven plates weigh 390 tolas.

The smaller set consists of three thin plates without rims, *viz* the first, second and the last, with one or more plates of two written sides, missing between the second and the last. The first and the last plates are not numbered as in the larger set. The ring with which the

¹ See below, Table on p. 446. The three Pândya kings Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Kuvâvan Mâran, his son Ilangôvadiyaraiyan *alias* Mâran Paramêśvaran, and his son Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Śuvaran Mâran mentioned in the Śendalai pillar inscriptions of about the 8th century A.D. do not appear in this genealogy. They evidently belonged to a subordinate branch of the family and were perhaps kings of the southern Tañjai country, ruling almost independently of the imperial Pândyas at Madura and sometimes fighting with them. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136 and 137.

² Spelt Chinnamanur in the Alphabetical list of villages in the Madras Presidency.

plates were held together is lost. The ring-hole is not, as usual, bored in the middle of the left margin, but at the left bottom or the left top corner, according as the written side of the plate is odd or even—the sheets being meant evidently to be read by turning over the leaf, as in a palm-leaf manuscript without the necessity of actually removing the plate from the ring. The plates measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by 3" and the three plates, together, weigh 51 *tolas*.

Both sets of plates use the Grantha alphabet wherever Sanskrit verses and Sanskrit words occur and the Tamil Vatteluttu where the Tamil language is employed. The palaeography of the smaller set of plates does not differ much from that of the Madras Museum plates of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan, who, as I have stated already in my paper on the Vêlvikudī grant, has to be identified with the donor of the latter and therefore also with Mārājañjadaiyan of the Âṇaimalai inscription.¹

The remark made by Mr. Venkayya that the Madras Museum plates and the smaller Śīnnamanūr plates are nearer in point of time to the larger Śīnnamanūr plates than they are to the Vêlvikudī grant, has been already examined by me in the light of the palaeography of the plates under publication. I have noticed that the difference in the formation of the Grantha characters of the Vêlvikudī, the Madras Museum and the smaller Śīnnamanūr plates all of which in my opinion belong to the same period, should be due to their having been written at different periods later than their Vatteluttu portions. In the matter of their Vatteluttu writing, the smaller and the bigger Śīnnamanūr plates are far separated by time and the palaeographical differences are apparent. The formation of the initial vowel *a*, the *e*-mark in consonants, the letters *na*, *ma*, and *ya*,—of which the two latter, it is surprising to find, resemble the *ma* and *ya* of the Vêlvikudī and the Âṇaimalai inscriptions,—show marked differences. The differences which the smaller Śīnnamanūr plates and the Madras Museum plates present, except in the formation of the letter *ya*, are very slight. They are almost nil. Consequently, Mr. Venkayya's identification of the second king Arikēsari Asamasaman Māravarman mentioned in the smaller Śīnnamanūr plates with Māravarman Pallava-bhañjana of the Madras Museum plates and that of his son—his unnamed son who was victorious at Marudūr—with Jatilavarman Neduñjadaiyan of the same plates, becomes untenable even on the grounds of palaeography. This point will become clearer in the sequel where the identification of the kings mentioned in the smaller and the bigger Śīnnamanūr plates is discussed.

The Sanskrit portion of the bigger Śīnnamanūr plates begins with a fragmentary verse in which the king (perhaps Pāndya) boasts of having subdued the ocean—an attribute which the mythical Pāndya kings generally assumed in consequence, perhaps, of their sea-bordering kingdom, their naval power, and their sea-borne trade, from the earliest historical times. From him were descended the kings known as Pāndyas (v. 2) 'who engraved their edicts on the Himalaya mountain' and whose family-priest was the sage Agastya (v. 3). One of the Pāndya kings is said to have occupied the throne of Indra (v. 4) and another to have shared it with that god, and still another, to have caused the Ten-Headed (*i.e.*, Rāvana of Lankā) to sue for peace (v. 5). One was a conqueror of the epic hero Arjuna (v. 7)². Verse 8 refers to a king who cut off his own head in order to protect that of his master and also to a certain Sundara-Pāndya who had mastered all the sciences. Many kings of this family had performed Vêdic sacrifices *Rājasūya* and *Āśvamedha* (v. 9)³.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 317 f.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 59 and foot-note 4.

³ The Tamil portion gives many more of such attributes to the Pāndya ancestors, see below p. 443.

In this family was born king Arikêśarim. His son was Jatila; his son Râjasimha (II); his son Varaguna (I); and his son Śrî-Mâra entitled Śrîvallabha (v. 10). Śrî-Mâra conquered Mâyâ-Pândya, the kings of Kêrala and Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha (v. 11). His son was Parântaka the younger brother of Varaguna II (v. 12), who fought a battle at Kharaguni and captured Ugra (v. 13). His wife was Vânavanmahâdêvi (v. 15) and their son was Râjasimha (III), the banner (both) of the solar and the lunar races (vv. 16 and 17).

A favourite of this king was the Brâhman Parântaka, the son of Śrêsthîsarman, the grandson of the Vêdic scholar Bhâskara (v. 21) and the great-grandson of Śrêsthîm, a Senguti-Kauśika of Puttûr (vv. 20 and 21). The ancestors of this Parântaka were the followers of Āgnivêśya-kalpa—evidently the science of medicine—and his maternal grandfather was the famous Ūrâsarman of the Maudgalya lineage, of Syandanagrâma. To Śrêsthîsarman, king Parântaka Vîranârayana had given the village of Maniyâchi, surnamed Tîsauchchudarmangala in Vada-Kalavali-nâdu. The ruling king Râjasimha (III) gave to the Brâhman Parântaka, in the 16th year of his reign, while encamped at Chûlal in Râjasimha-kulakkil, the *agrahâra* Narcheygai-Puttûr surnamed Mandaragauravamangalam in Ala-nâdu.

The *viññapti* of the grant was the councillor and poet Jatila (v. 33) of the Atri-gôtra, while the *âññapti* was Kûrrangôn, a servant of king Mâravarman (v. 34). The *kudikâval* was Nakkankumân, son of the headman of Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu, who was a minister and the chief of the elephant forces. Nakkan-Kâda, Kôn-Vêlân and Paṭârañ-Chôlai were three officers who witnessed the demarcation of the boundary line. Verse 37 supplies for the king the surname Abhumânamêru.

The composer of the *prasasti* was Vâsudêva, a friend of Madhuraguna and the elder brother of Vishnu (v. 38).

The Tamil portion which begins with line 76 also praises the Pândya kings who belonged to the lunar race and bore the crest of the double fish, had Agastya as their family preceptor and counted the god (Śiva) as one of their family members. Many other incidents, mostly mythical, are also registered of some of the early kings such as, (1) churning the ocean for nectar, (2) bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day, (3) going round the earth, (4) sending embassy to the gods on many occasions, (5) taking away the necklace of Pâkaśâsana (Indra), (6) mastering the Tamil language of the south, (7) driving away the sea by throwing a javelin, (8) giving a thousand golden hills (*Mêru*) in charity; (9) founding the town of Madura and erecting a wall round it; (10) studying Tamil and Sanskrit (*vada-môli*) as even to excel Pandits, (11) leading elephants in the Bhârata war against the Mahârathas; (12) relieving Vijaya (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu; (13) engraving the victorious symbols of the fish, the tiger, and the bow on the top of the Northern mountain, *i e*, the Himalayas; (14) getting huge giants to work for them in building many tanks, (15) cutting off the heads of two kings in the battles fought at Chitramayari and Talaiyâlangânâ; (16) getting the Mahâbhârata translated into Tamil, and (17) establishing the Tamil Śangam in the town of Madura. After these kings had passed away, there came a king named Parâṅkuśa who saw the back of (*i e*, defeated) the Chêra king at Nelvêli and the Pallava king at Śankaramaṅgai. His grandson was Râjasimha, after whom came a king named Varaguna-Mahârâja. The exact relationship of this Varaguna-Mahârâja to his predecessor Râjasimha has not been recorded. Râjasimha's son was Parachakrakêlâhala who was successful in battles fought at Kunnûr, Śingalam.

(Ceylon) and Vihñam and who at Kudamūkkil won a deadly battle against the combined armies of the Ganga, Pallava, Chōla, Kalinga, Magadha and other kings. Next came Varagunavarman, whose relationship to Parachakrakōlāhala is also not specified. His younger brother was Parāntakan Śadāryan, who fought battles at Śennilam, Kharagiri and Pennāgadam in the Kongu country. To him and his queen Vānavanmahādēvī was born Rājasimha surnamed Vikatavādava and Mandaragaurava. This latter fought a battle at Ulappinmangalam, drove the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) in a battle fought at Naippūr, won a battle at Kodumbai, burnt the town of Vāñji on the northern bank of the Ponnī (Kāvērī) river and destroyed the lord of the southern Tañjai country at Nāval.

In the 14th year opposite to the second year of his reign (*i.e.*, the 16th year as stated in the Sanskrit portion), this Rājasimha, while he was encamped at Chūlal, a town founded by himself in the district of Rājaśingapperungulakkil or Rājasimhakulakkil, granted to the Brāhman Parāntaka, the village Narcheygar-Puttūr in Ala-nādu, re-naming it Mandaragauravamangalam. As in the Sanskrit portion, lines 147 to 155 seem to record that Bhāskaran-Śetti (Śrēsthīśarman of the Sanskrit portion) the son of Bhāskara and the foremost of the Ombālvas of the Āgnivēśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kausika-gōtra (Śenguti-Kausika of the Sanskrit portion) dwelling in Puttūr, in the Mīygundāru (district) of Koluvūr-kūṛram (division), had received from Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, the village of Tīsaichchudarmangalam in the Vadakalavalī-nādu (province). From the Sanskrit passage, we learn that Maniyāchi, which may be identified with the well-known junction station on the South Indian Railway, was surnamed Tīsaichchudarmangalam. The *vinṇappam* (*viñṇapti* in Sanskrit) *i.e.*, the one who made the formal request to the king, was, according to the Tamil portion, a certain Śadāryapirān-Bhattasōmayājin of Pullamangalam in Śōla-nādu and the *āñṇapti*, as in the Sanskrit portion, was Kūrrangōn, a native of Vēmbarrūr in Kalavalī-nādu. Kumān or Nakkan-Kumān¹ (as he is called in Sanskrit) of the village of Kūra in Kīl-Vēmba-nādu, was the *kudikāval-nāyakan* or the chief revenue officer. The three officers, who, according to the Sanskrit portion, were to witness the demarcation of the boundary line, are stated in the Tamil portion, to have been the *kanakkar* or accountants, the demarcation itself being done by the *nāttār*, *i.e.*, the district people of Ala-nādu. Of the boundaries, the eastern boundary was the Śuruli-āru (river). The southern boundary of the village granted, which commences at the end of the eighth plate, must have been continued on the next, which is however missing.

Compared with the Vēlvikudi plates of Neduñjadāryan, we find that the account given in the bigger Śinnamanūr plates includes, as it should, many later Pāndya kings. The mild Purāṇic tradition of the Vēlvikudi plates connecting the Pāndyas with Agastya, the churning of the milk ocean, and the sharing with Indra of half his throne and necklace, grows here into a big list with seven or eight other extra items added to it. Some of these are interesting. For instance, the going round the earth, and the bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day, are feats attributed to Vāli, king of the monkeys¹. Agam, calling the aid of huge giants to build tanks in the Pāndya land also seems to suggest the near connection which the Pāndya country had with Ceylon, the land of Rāvana. The driving away of the sea by throwing a javelin is perhaps a reminiscence of a similar feat ascribed to the epic hero Rāma. The leading of elephants against the Mahārathas in the Bhārata war is a fact which is commemorated also in literature, of the Chēra king Śenguttuvan,

¹ Vālmiki-Rāmāyana, Uttarakāṇḍa, chapter 34.

who is said to have fed the soldiers in the Mahâbhârata war. Some of the other attributes, however, are of much historical value. The mastery over the Tamil language of the south, the foundation of the town of Madura and the erection of a wall round it, the studying of Tamil and Sanskrit as even to excel Pandits, the initiating of the translation of the Mahâbhârata into Tamil and the establishing of the Tamil Śāṅgam (academy) in the town of Madura—these, clearly indicate the close connection the Pāṇḍya kings had with the development of the Tamil language and the foundation of the town of Madura. The battles of Chitramuyari and Talaiyālangānam mentioned of one of the unnamed Pāṇḍya kings must be a reference to Neduñjeliyan who is spoken of in literature as the hero who gained success in the battle of Talaiyālangānam by defeating the Chōla and the Chēra kings. Our plates add that the heads of these two kings were actually cut off and this was not in one battle as literature suggests, but in two, *viz*, Chitramuyari and Talaiyālangānam ¹

The genealogies of the Pāṇḍya kings as given in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions differ widely; but still as both refer to the same grant, which was made in the sixteenth year of the same king, there cannot be any room for doubt. Consequently, the statements of the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions have to be supplemented one with the other, in order to obtain a complete genealogy (*see* Table D in the attached sheet of genealogical tables)

The smaller Śinnamanūr plates, after the usual invocation to god Purushōttama (Vishnu) (v 1), confer a benediction on the family of the Moon, in which were born the (Pāṇḍya) kings who crushed the pride of the enemies of gods (v 2)

In that family of the Moon, after many kings of great deeds had expired, came forth a son of Jayantavarman, the great king (*paramēśvara*) Arikēsari Asamasaman Alanghyavikrama Akālakāla Māravarman. His son was one who fought battles at Marudūr and Kuvaimalai. Here comes a break and one or two plates on which the genealogy should have been continued, are lost. What is left on the last plate treats only of the description of the boundary line of the granted land or village, and mentions the Bhagavatī temple of Korrauputtūr. The *ānatti* of the grant was Tāyan Śingar, the *uttaramantri* of Kundūr in Kundūr-kūrram of Anda-nādu. The *purankāval* of this village was eighty-five *kalams* (of paddy). The king himself, as in the Vēlvikudi plates (ll 151-152), made a declaration and caused the copper-plate grant to be executed. It may be noted that Korrauputtūr mentioned above, also figures among the boundaries of Vēlvikudi. The record was written (or witnessed) by Arikēsari, son of Pāṇḍi-Perumbanaikkāran who also wrote the Madras Museum plates.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to have clearly before us the genealogical tables supplied by the four Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants, *viz*, (A) the Vēlvikudi grant, (B) the Madras Museum plates, (C) the smaller Śinnamanūr plates and (D) the bigger Śinnamanūr plates, severally. For convenience of reference, it will be noted that the numbers given to the kings in the Vēlvikudi table are repeated in the other tables in cases where, for reasons explained in the sequel, the kings are identical.

¹ For further information on the Pāṇḍya who fought the battle of Talaiyālangānam, *see* Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, chapter 4.

The description of the three kings given in the smaller Śinnamanûr plates enables us to identify at once the last who fought the battle at Marudûr with (5) Śadaiyan Ranadhîra of the Vêlvikudî plates and his father with (4) Arikêsarî Asamasaman Mâravarman of the same. From this it further follows that Jayantavarman the father of Arikêsarî Asamasaman must be identified with (3) Śeliyan Śendan. Mr K V Subrahmanya Ayyar suggests that Jayantavarman is perhaps a Sanskritized form of Śendan. Thus the three kings referred to in the smaller Śinnamanûr record, must be Nos (3), (4) and (5) of Mr Venkayya's genealogical table given at page 54 of part II of the Madras *Epigraphical Report* for 1908. It is, therefore, difficult to see how or why Rai Bahadur V Venkayya must have been inclined to attribute the smaller Śinnamanûr plates to Parântaka Vîranârâyana Śadaiyan of the bigger Śinnamanûr plates (D), who comes three generations after (7) of the Vêlvikudî grant, especially after seeing that the three names mentioned in the smaller set are evidently only the first three names of what might have been a longer genealogy, similar to that of the Vêlvikudî grant or the bigger Śinnamanûr plates. The Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman and the smaller Śinnamanûr plates, palaeographically, are almost of the same period, and if, as proved in my paper on the Vêlvikudî grant, the donor of the Madras Museum plates is identical with the donor of the Vêlvikudî grant, it follows that the donor of the smaller Śinnamanûr plates too must be either Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan of the Vêlvikudî grant or an immediate successor of his. So, the missing plate or plates after the second in the smaller Śinnamanûr set should have contained the names of (5) Śadaiyan Ranadhîra, (6) Têrmâran, (7) Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan and perhaps also his successor Râjasimha II. It is very disappointing that these plates are lost; else, we would have had enough material to compare the genealogies and to identify the names.

In comparing next, the historical Pândya genealogy derived from the bigger Śinnamanûr plates with that of the Vêlvikudî grant, one has to be guided not only by the common names and titles of kings belonging to about the same age, but also by the common battles fought and the common enemies conquered by them—though it is not impossible that these may be repeated in history. Palaeographical similarities no doubt often help in the identification of names but sometimes they also fail when the particular inscription from which we draw the inference happens to be a copy of some older document, written in a later hand. Applying these methods we find that the first king Arikêsarî of the bigger Śinnamanûr plates, who is said to have fought the battle of Nelvêli against a Chêra king, will at first appear to be the same as Arikêsarî Mâravarman (No 4) of the Vêlvikudî grant whose enemy at Nelvêli was a certain Vilvêli¹ (perhaps a Chêra). But Arikêsarî of (A) did not, however, fight with the Pallava king as did Arikêsarî mentioned in (D). The battle of Śankaramangai where Parâñkuśa Arikêsarî of (D) defeated the Pallavas is not mentioned of No. 4 in (A) but Têrmâran (No 6) a grandson of Arikêsarî (No 4) is clearly said to have crushed the Pallava power. Again, the title Parâñkuśa, given to Arikêsarî in the Tamil portion of (D) makes it difficult to connect him with the first Arikêsarî Mâravarman (No 4) of the Vêlvikudî plates. So, it has to be assumed, at least hypothetically, that a second battle was fought at Nelvêli by Parâñkuśa Arikêsarî, like the first by his grandfather, Asamasaman Arikêsarî, against the very same or a different Chêra king. The fact that Parâñkuśa Arikêsarî's grandson is called Râjasimha in (D) suggests the possibility of

¹ Dr Krishnaswami Ayyangar suggests, however, that Vilvêli here may probably be synonymous with Pallava, since Tirumangai-Âlvâr, in his Periya-Tirumoli makes Villavan synonymous with Pallava. But it must be noted that Vilvêli is different from Villavan.

Arikēsari himself being also called Râjasimha, which title we actually find for the first time given to Têrmâran in the Vêlvikudi plates. Thus, the battle of Śankaramangai and the defeat of Pallavamalla and a possible second battle at Nelvêli are the only common factors that might enable us to connect the genealogy of the bigger Śinnamanûr plates with that of the Vêlvikudi grant. Parâнкуśa Arikēsari must therefore be No 6 Têrmâran, the contemporary of Pallavamalla (Cir A D 760) as we learn from the Vêlvikudi grant. If this is admitted, Têrmâran (No 6) of (A) must be presumed to have also had the titles Arikēsari and Parâнкуśa, to have defeated the Pallavas at Śankaramangai before actually crushing Pallavamalla in the battles at Kulumbûr and Periyalûr and to have fought a second battle at Nelvêli against an unnamed Chêra¹

Of king Jatila, the second in the genealogical list (D) given above, nothing is stated in the plates in the Sanskrit portion, the Tamil portion omitting his name altogether. On the hypothesis, however, of Arikēsari Parâнкуśa being identical with Têrmâran of the Vêlvikudi grant, Jatila will have to be identified with (No 7) Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan, the donor of the Vêlvikudi grant—it being inexplicable, however, why this king of whom we hear so much in the Vêlvikudi and in the Madras Museum plates, should have been mentioned without any remarks in the Sanskrit portion and omitted altogether in the Tamil portion. The other kings who follow are later names in the Pândya genealogy and their achievements are detailed in the genealogical table (D) given above.

The successor of Jatila was Râjasimha (II)² of whom nothing is stated. After him came Varaguna or Varaguna-Mahârâja of great prowess who was separated by two generations or roughly 50 years from Têrmâran (No 6 of A) the contemporary of Pallavamalla Nandivarman already mentioned. Consequently, he should have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century A D. Though very scanty information is supplied about this king by the bigger Śinnamanûr plates, still he is familiar to students of epigraphy and we know of very many references in inscriptions to Varaguna or Varaguna-Mahârâja³, sometimes also called Mârañjadaiyan. We learn, e g, that Varaguna, for the first time, carried his conquests northward into the Chôla country against Idavar⁴ on which occasion also he should perhaps have destroyed the fortified walls of Vêmbil (Vêmbarrûr). Varaguna thence pushed further north into the Tondai-nâdu making there a grant from his camp at Araisûr, a village on the banks of the Pennar to the temple of Erichchâ-Udayâr at Ambâsamudram in the Tinnevely district. Again, an inscription at Kalugumalai⁵, also in the Tinnevely district, supports the above statement by referring to an expedition of the king (herein called only Mârañjadaiyan) against Arividûrkkôttai and casually mentions the village Pûndaumali (i e, Poonamalli) in Tondai-nâdu. The Tiruvîsalûr inscription dated in the 4th year of the reign of Varaguna-Mahârâja might also belong to this same king⁶. The Aivarmalai inscription which supplies the initial date Śaka 784 or A D 862 to Varaguna must refer to the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XVII, pp 293 and 295

² Têrmâran was Râjasimha I.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX, p. 86 f.

⁴ No. 690 of 1905

⁵ No. 43 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Collection* for 1908.

⁶ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar thinks that this belongs to Varagunavarman II, but the title Mahârâja added to his name in the Tiruvîsalûr record leaves no doubt that he is the first of that name.

later Varagunavarman who was the grandson of Varaguna I. An inscription from Tiruvellai which is dated in his 13th year, and where the king is called Mārāñjadaiyan supplies astronomical details for the verification of the date. The actual calculation, worked out by Mr Sewell at page 253 of *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, fits in with the 13th year of this Varagunavarman II, viz, Monday the 22nd November, A D 874. This is the second sure date in the Pândya chronology, the first being A D 769-70 (or thereabouts) of the Ânamalai inscription, for king Marañjadaiyan Parântaka, Neduñjadaiyan, the donor of the Vêlvikudai grant and of the Madras Museum plates. Thus the initial date of Varaguna II got from the Aivarmalai inscription, is A D 862 and the nearest possible date of Parântaka Neduñjadaiyan is A D. 770. The difference between these two dates i.e. 92 years, suggests at least four generations and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has, accordingly in his genealogical table of the Pândyas given at page 54 of his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, Part II, taken the Varaguna of the Aivarmalai inscription to be the second of that name who, according to the Udayêndiram plates, killed the Ganga king Prithivîpati I in the battle at Śrîpurambiyam or Truppurambiyam near Kumbhakônâ, being himself subsequently defeated by the last Pallava king Aparâjita or Aparâjitavikramavarman son of Nripatunga¹. Leaving alone the second Varagunavarman for the present, it may be stated that in the time of Varaguna-Mahârâja I the Pândya dominion was largely extended as to include in it the Chôla and the Pallava country right up to the bank of the Pennâr in Tondai-nâdu. This invasion could not have been allowed to pass without severe resistance by the kings concerned, viz, the Chôlas and the Pallavas, and consequently, we see that in the next reign king Śrîvallabha (10) had to fight fierce battles, three of them being at Kudamûkkil, i.e., Kumbhakônâ in the heart of the Chôla country, against perhaps the allied Chôlas, Gangas and Pallavas². This was perhaps the commencement of the struggle. It perhaps ended only with the defeat of Varaguna II, by the Pallava king Aparâjita at Śrîpurambiyam, near Kumbhakônâ, where his Ganga ally Prithivîpati I also died. The Chôla enemies of the Pândyas, now turned against their allies, the Pallavas Râjakêsarivarman Âditya I overran the Tondai-nâdu in the north and occupied it. But the Pândya king Râjasimha III (No 13), the son of Parântaka Śadaiyan, defeated the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) at Naippûr, fought a battle at Kodumbai (Kodumbâlûr) the seat of one of the powerful Chôla subordinates, burnt Vañi and destroyed the king of southern Tañjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Chôlas) at Nâval. Âditya's son Parântaka I defeated this Râjasimha-Pândya, the nephew of Varaguna II and captured the Pândya capital Madura, thereby acquiring for himself the well-known title Madirâikonda. The mention of Mâyâ-Pândya as in rebellious union against Śrîvallabha (10) and that of Ugra (perhaps also a Pândya king) against Parântaka Vîranârâyana Śadaiyan (12) show internal dissensions in the Pândya family which must have been the cause of their eventual downfall. The Pândya king Parântaka appears to have courted the friendship of the rising powerful Chôla and to have married Vânavanmahâdêvî, evidently a Chôla princess, as the title 'the flag of both the lunar and the solar races'³ borne by his son Râjasimha clearly shows.

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, Part II, p. 64, paragraph 9

² He carried his conquest also into Sîmhala. The *Mahāvamsa* says that Aggabôdhi and Sêna killed Mahinda and his brothers who returned to the island from the opposite coast.

³ A similar title was assumed by Varaguna of the Trichinopoly cave inscription. The solar family to which he belonged on his mother's side, may have been the Chôla.

Of the topographical and other proper names mentioned in both the sets of Śinnamanūr plates, viz, Chitramuyarī, Talaiyālangānam, Nelvēli, Śankaramangai, Kunnūr, Śingalam, Viliñam, Kudamūkkil, Śennilam, Kharagirī, Pennāgadam, Kongu, Ulappinimangalam, Tañjai, Naippūr, Kodumbai, Vañji [on the northern bank of the Ponni (Kâvêrî) river], Nâval, Chûlal, Râjasingapperungulakkil, Narcheygaiputtūr, Ala-nâdu, Puttūr, Miḡundâru, Koluvûr-kûrram, Maniyâchi or Tisaichchudarmangalam, Vada-Kalavali-nâdu, Pullamangalam, Śôla-nâdu, Vêmbarrûr in Kalavali-nâdu, Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu, Śuruli-âru (river), Marudûr, Kuvalaimalai, Korranputtūr, Kundûr and Anda-nâdu, almost all are familiar and known to us from inscriptions. The first two are not identified, the second being known only to literature. Kudamūkkil is Kumbhakōnam; Viliñam is a port in the Travancore State, Śingalam is Ceylon, Pennāgadam is a village in the Tanjore District; Kongu comprises the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore, Tañjai is the well-known Tanjore, Kodumbai is Kodumbâlûr in the Pudukkôttai State. Râjasingakulakkil may be identified with Râjasingamangalam in the Śivaganga Zamîndârî. It is called Varagunamangalam in its inscriptions. Narcheygaiputtūr must be identical with Śinnamanūr in the Periyakulam taluk where these plates were obtained. The stone inscriptions of the place, however, show that it bore the name Arikēsarinallûr and was a *brahmadēya* in Ala-nâdu, a subdivision of Pândi-mandalam ¹. A hamlet of it was Korranputtūr, identical, perhaps, with the native village of the donee ². Mention is also made in stone inscriptions of the places Mandaragauravamangalam and Arapadaśêkharamangalam, which had assemblies similar to that of Arikēsarinallûr that met together in a common place, evidently showing that these places were not far distant from each other ³. Ala-nâdu is the territorial division in which Śinnamanūr was situated. Kôttârpohi-Puttūr is identical with Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad district and is the headquarters of a taluk. From No. 90 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908, we learn that it was situated in Miḡundâru in Koluvûr-kûrram, which is the description given of Kôttârpohi-Puttūr in these plates. Pullamangalam is a village in the Pâpanâsam taluk of the Tanjore district. It was situated in Kîlâr-kûñnam. Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu is a subdivision of the Pândya country in which Tinnevely was situated. As such, the village of Kûra must be looked for near about Tinnevely. Śuruli-âru is the river that takes its rise from the Śuruli-malai, 7 miles from Cumbum in the Periyakulam taluk of the Madura district, and flows past Cumbum and Śinnamanūr and joins the Vaigai. Anda-nâdu is that territorial division of the Pândya country in which Periyakôttai in the Dindigul taluk was. Hence Kundûr and Korranputtūr must be traced out in that locality.

Larger Śinnamanūr Plates.

TEXT ⁴

[Metres: Vv 1 and 30, *Upajāti*; V 2, *Vaiśvadevî*; Vv 3, 4, 5, 8 and 31, *Upēndravajrâ*; Vv. 6, 7, 13, 27 and 38, *Pushpitâgrâ*, Vv 9, 11, 14, 16 and 23, *Śâlni*, Vv 12 and 32, *Drutavilambitam*, Vv 15, 22, 26, 28, 29, 34 and 36, *Anushtubh*; Vv. 25, 33 and 35, *Indravajrâ*, V 24, *Mandâkrântâ*; Vv 10 and 20, *Śârdûlavikrûṭtam*, V 21, *Sragdharâ*; and Vv. 17, 18, 19 and 37, *Vasantatilakâ*]

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907, Nos 427, 428, 432 and 441.

² *Ibid* No. 442.

³ *Ibid.* Nos. 439 and 452.

⁴ From the original plates and a set of ink-impressions.

Second Plate First Side.¹

- 1 त्वंगत्तंग्गावलिभंगरंगत्पतंगनक्षत्रशशांकरलः [1*] कल्पावसानक्षुभि-
 2 तोपि सिन्धुर्यत्पादपीठश्रियमाललम्बे² ॥ [१*] वंशस्तस्यासीद्विक्रमाक्रा-
 3 न्तविश्वशत्रुक्षत्रश्रीशर्वरीसप्तसतिः [1+] पुण्यलोकानाम् भूरिषाम्ना⁴पाणा-
 4 म् यत्रोत्पन्ना⁵नान्धर्मपत्नी धरित्री ॥ [२+] हताखिलारातिमहीपती-
 5 नां हिमाचलारोपितशासनानाम् [1+] पुरोहितभूदवनीपतीनाम्
 6 यदुद्भवानाम् भगवानगस्त्यः [३*] निहत्य देवासुरयुद्धमध्ये महा-
 7 सुरान्मानधनो यदुद्धूः [1+] अधोनिषण्णामरलोकमेकस्तुरेन्द्रसिंहासन-
 8 मध्यतिष्ठत् ॥ [४*] जयाय दौत्यन्त्रिदिवालयानाञ्जगाम कश्चित्कृतधीः कृतज्ञः [1*] द-
 9 शाननन्सन्धिपरश्वकार⁶ नरेश्वर. कश्चिदखण्डिता⁷ ज्ञः ॥ [९*] नरसखत-
 10 नयापतिर्नरेन्द्रस्त्रिभुवनगीतगुणस्त्रिलोचनश्च [1*] मथितजलनिधिश्च

Second Plate . Second Side.

- 11 यत्र जातः[+] क्षितिपतिरप्रतिमोप्यगस्त्यशिष्यः ॥ [६*] विदलितवलयस्तुरे-
 12 न्द्रमौलौ हतहरिहारविभूषितश्च यदुद्धूः [1*] कुरुपतिबल[तू]लकालव[हि]-
 13 जितविजयश्च यदुद्धूः नरेन्द्रः ॥ [७*] चकर्त्त कश्चिन्निजमुत्तमांगं गुरु-
 14 न्निजम् पालयितुं [य]दुद्धूः [1*] समस्तशास्त्रार्णवकर्णधारो यदुद्धवस्तुन्दर-
 15 पाण्ड्यनामा ॥ [८*] यत्रोत्पन्ना राजसूयाश्वमेधैरिष्टाने-
 16 कैर्देवभूयं प्रपन्ना.⁷ [1*] संख्यातीतास्तावर्वाभा नरेन्द्राः कस्ता-
 17 न्मर्त्यः कृत्स्नशो वक्तुमीष्टे ॥ [९*] तत्रासीदरिकेसरी नरपतिर्विशो व-
 18 शी श्रीनिधिस्तत्पुत्रो जटिलस्तुतो[८*]स्य नृपतिः[*] श्रिराजासिंहः कृती [1*] प्राज्ञः[*] स्फी-
 19 तपराक्रमो वरगुणस्तस्यात्मजस्तत्सुतः[+] श्रीमारः[+] श्रवणीयकीर्तिरजि-
 20 तः[*] श्रीवल्लभो भूपतिः ॥ [१०*] मायापाण्ड्य केरळं सिंहळे[न्द्र]जित्वा संखे⁸

Third Plate First Side⁹

- 21 पल्लवम् वल्लभश्च [1*] एकच्छत्राम् मेदिनीमेकवीरः[+] प्रारक्षद्यः प्रे-
 22 मपात्रम् प्रजानाम् ॥ [११*] नृपकिरीटमणिद्युमणिप्रभाविसरभासितपादस-
 23 रोरुहः [1*] वरगुणस्य विभोरनुजः कृती नरपतिस्तनयो[८*]स्य परान्तकः ॥ [१२*]
 24 खरगिरिमभितः करीन्द्रयू[थं] रिपुनृपशोणितशोणदन्तमाजौ [1*] करकलितकृ-
 25 पाणमा[त्र]सैन्यस्सरभसमुग्रमुदग्रमग्रहीन्यः¹⁰ ॥ [१३*] अग्राहारै-

¹ On the right side of the ring-hole, is marked the figure '2' in Tamil

² Read °माललम्बे.

³ The punctuation at the end of complete verses, here and *passim* is made by an ornamental mark.

⁴ Here and in other places, the writer has changed the *anusvara* into the nasal of the class following.

⁵ Read दशानन सन्धि°.

⁶ The letter ता is corrected from तो.

⁷ Read प्रपन्ना .

⁸ Read सख्ये

⁹ On the right of the ring-hole is the figure '3' in Tamil

¹⁰ Read °मग्रहीन्यः.

26 रप्रमेयैरनेकैर्देवस्थानैरस्तसमृख्यैस्त¹टाकै-

27 : [1⁺] पू[र्ण]म् पुण्यैर्यस्वयम्² पुण्यकीर्त्तिश्चक्रे चक्रचक्रवर्त्ती ध[रा]-

28 याः [॥१४⁺] श्रीरिव श्रीनिवासस्य पौलोमीव शतक्रतोः [1⁺] [श्री]वानवन्महा-³

29 देवी देवी तस्य प्रभोरभूत् ॥ [१५⁺] तस्याज्ञातः⁴] श्रीनिघेस्तस्य देव्याम्

30 पुत्रशशुक्षत्रिवित्रासनश्री. [1⁺] प्रज्ञाशौर्यस्थैर्यैर्यैर्याभि-

Third Plate : Second Side.

31 जात्यत्यागाधारः पार्थिवो राजासिंहः ॥ [१६⁺] राजन्वती भवति यम्

32 पतिमेत्य पृथ्वी देवन्दि⁴ वाकरनिशाकरवंशकेतुम् [1⁺] आर्त्ति[म्]⁵

33 परामरिकदम्⁶बकमर्त्तितात्थम्⁶ पूर्त्तिन्नयन्तमखिला हरितश्च कीर्त्तिम् ॥ [१७⁺] ना-

34 लम् भवन्ति निखिलात्थिजनाभिलाषास्त्यागस्य यस्य रिपवो[ऽ⁺]पि पराक्रमस्य [1⁺] की-

35 सैस्समस्तभुवनानि समुल्लसन्त्या वाचस्पतेरपि व-

36 चांसि गुणस्तुतीनाम् ॥ [१८⁺] अर्थैरनर्थैरहितैरखिलान्द्रि-

37 ⁶जेन्द्रानत्यर्थमर्थैरहितैरहिताननर्थैः [1⁺] आपूरयन्दशदिशोप्यम-

38 लैर्यशोभिर्ग्यो[ऽ⁺]यम् भुनक्ति भुवनम् भरतानुभाव ॥ [१९⁺] श्रीमान् [कौ]-

39 [शि]कवंशजश्च्युतधनः⁺] श्रीश्रेष्ठिशम्भर्त्तम[ज][ः⁺] श्रेष्ठशशिलवताम् परान्त-

40 क इति प्रख्यातनामो[ऽ⁺]ज्वलः [1⁺] तस्यास्ति प्राथितान्वयः पृथुयशाः प्रा-

Fourth Plate : First Side⁷

41 ज्ञः कृतज्ञः कृती राज्ञः प्रा[ज्य]गुणः प्रभूतविनयः प्रेमैकपात्रम् प्रभोः ॥ [२०⁺]

42 पौत्रस्त्रैयेकधाम्न⁸ परहितनिरतो भास्कराख्यस्य यो[ऽ⁺]भूद्विद्यानद्या-

43 [ः] पयो[धि]र्विविधबुधजनप्रार्थनापारिजातः [1⁺] पुत्रूराप्तोदयानाम्⁹

44 पुरुतरतपताञ्चकुटिकैशिकानां श्रेष्ठस्य श्रेष्ठि-

45 नाम्नश्च्युतविनयनिधेः श्रीनिघेय्यश्च नसा ॥ [२१⁺] आग्निर्वश्य-

46 कृतं क[ल्प]मनल्पं यस्य पूर्वजाः [1⁺] प्रतिष्ठाम् भूतधारिण्यामनयन्वेद-

47 पारगाः ॥ [२२] मौद्वल्यानां स्यन्दनग्रामजानाम् मुख्यः ख्यातः⁺] स्फूर्ति[वृ]त्ताभि-

48 जात्यः [1⁺] श्रीमान्धीमान्कीर्त्तिमानूरशर्मा धर्म्माधारो यस्य मातामहो[ऽ⁺]भूत्

49 ॥ [२३⁺] विद्या वृत्तं विनयविभवः⁺] श्लाघनीया¹⁰ च लक्ष्मीर्द्धदमीभर्तुश्चरणकमला-

¹ Read संख्यैस्त°.

² Read र्यस्वयम्.

³ The length of *ha* is inserted above the letter

⁴ Read पृथ्वी देवं दि°.

⁵ Read *anusvara* in place of *m*.

⁶ The *ṣ*-sign of ज्ञ is at the end of the previous line

⁷ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '4' in Tamil.

⁸ Read लृथ्यैक°.

⁹ Read °नामुत्तर°.

¹⁰ Read श्लाघनीया.

ii a.

1
2
3
4
5
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ii b

11
12
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14
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16
17
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iii a

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22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

iii b

31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

[illegible]

42

44

46

48

ur b

[illegible]

50

52

54

56

58

va.

[illegible]

60

62

64

66

68

vb

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥
 अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 युयुत्सवः मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव ॥ तत्रैवाहमवस्थाम्भुवः
 ॥ १ ॥

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76

78

Fourth Plate . Second Side.

- 50 संगिनी चित्तवृत्तिः [1⁺] नित्योत्तुंगश्शुचिरभिजनः शाश्वती कीर्तिरुच्चैः
 51 प्रज्ञा चेति प्रथितयशसो यस्य वंशव्रतानि ॥ [२४⁺] ¹वृत्ताविदातो विन-
 52 यैकपात्रम् प्रभुः पिता यस्य पितामहश्रीः [1⁺] प्राज्ञः प्रसन्नः² प्रथिताभि-
 53 जात्यः[.] श्रीश्रेष्ठिशर्मा श्रवणीयकीर्तिः ॥ [२५⁺] पाण्ड्यान्ववायतिलका-
 54 त्पुण्यश्लोकात्परान्तकात् [1⁺] वीरनारायणादेवाद्धीराद्धीमत्-
 55 पुरोगम् ॥ [२६⁺] वटकळवृ^३ राष्ट्रतो^४[S⁺]ग्रहारम् सहितगुणम् मणियाच्चिना-
 56 मधेयम् [1⁺] अलभत मतिमाननूतसारम् विहिततिचैच्चुटर्षगलाभि-
 57 धानम् ॥ [२७⁺] स राजा रञ्जिताशेषभूचक्रशक्रविक्रम. [1⁺] षोडशे राज्य-
 58 वर्षे स्वे सादितारातिमण्डलः ॥ [२८⁺] राजासिंहकुलकी^५त्युक्ते] रा-

Fifth Plate: First Side ⁴

- 59 द्वे प्रतिष्ठितम् [1⁺] चू^६लाख्योज्ज्वलं^५ ग्राममा[व]सन्नमरोपम् ॥ [२९⁺] अ-
 60 नूनलक्ष्मी^६ अ^७मृ^८भाजम् ^९म^{१०}म^{११}भाजम् [1⁺] कारा-
 61 णैमीयाद्वियुतं समस्तद्विरस्तपृथ्वीवल्लयोपसर्ग. ॥ [३०⁺] करे-
 62 [गु]सञ्चारविभक्तसीमाचतुष्टयस्तुष्टिकरप्रजानाम्^८ [1⁺] स ब्रह्मदेय-
 63 स्थितिमम् बु^९पूर्वन्दिजाय तस्मै सकलं समग्रम् ॥ [३१⁺] वि-
 64 हितमन्दरगौरवमंगलाह्वयविराजितमग्रहरं^{१०} वरं [1⁺] स-
 65 मदिशत्स परान्तकशर्मणे ^{११}निरुप[म^१]म् नृपतिर्नयकेतनः ॥ [३२⁺] धर्म्मो-
 66 पदेष्टा नृपतेरमुष्य मन्त्री कविश्रीनिधिरत्रिगोत्रः [1⁺] विज्ञप्तिरस्याहृतस-
 67 ततन्तुस्तुंगाभिजात्यो जटिलो[S⁺]जनिष्ट ॥ [३३⁺] श्रीमारवर्मणस्तस्य भृत्यः
 68 क्षत्रशिखामणेः [1⁺] ^{१२}क^{१३}म^{१४}नाह्वयो[S⁺]स्याभूराज्ञप्ति^{१२}रमलान्वयः[. ३४⁺]

Fifth Plate . Second Side

- 69 क्री^{१५}वेम्पनाटाभिजनस्य पुत्रो नक्ककुमानित्यवदातनाम्न. [1⁺] कूरासज-
 70 न्मा सचिवो नृपस्य नाथ. करिण्या[^{१६}] कुटिकावलासीत् ॥ [३५⁺] नक्ककाटस्त कोन्वे-
 71 लान्पटारञ्चोल्याह्वयः^{१७} [1⁺] इत्येते गणकाश्चाव करिणीभ्रमणे[S⁺]भव-

¹ Read वृत्ता°.² Read प्रसन्न..³ राष्ट्रत has evidently to be understood in the sense of राष्ट्रे.⁴ To the right of the ring hole is the figure '5' in Tamil.⁵ Read °ज्ज्वलं.⁶ Read लक्ष्मीर^{१५}.⁷ The u-sign of ५ is written like that used in ७.⁸ Read °चतुष्टय तुष्टिकर. प्रजानाम्.⁹ Read म्बु पूर्व द्वे°.¹⁰ °मग्रहरं is used for °मग्रहार for the sake of the metre.¹¹ Read निरुपम्.¹² Read °स्याभूराज्ञप्ति°.¹³ Read °ल्याह्वयः.

- 72 तः ॥ [३६*] पातप्रसन्न^१मनसस्तु कृतम्मेति सो[५*]यं समस्तवसुधाधिप-
 73 वन्दनीयः [१*] बद्धाञ्जलिः प्रतिदिनम् प्रणमत्यशेषानागामि-
 74 नः क्षितिपतीनभिमानभेरुः ॥ [३७⁺] विदितसकलवा[न्म]य-^३
 75 स्य विष्णोर्विनयनयप्रभवस्य पूर्वजो यः [१⁺] अरचयदतुला-
 76 मिमाम् प्रशस्तिम् मधुरगुणस्य सखा स वासुदेवः ॥ [३८*] स्वस्ति श्री [॥*]
 77 திருவொடுந தெளளமித[த⁺]தொடுந செநகதிரொளிக கௌஷ்ணத்தொடும அ-
 78 ருவிமதக களிற்றொனறொடுந தொனறி அரனவிசடைமுடி விற்றிருந-
 79 த வெணடிங்குள முதலாக வெளிப்பட[ட]து நா[ற]மிசைலா புகழ்நீரது நா-

Sixth Plate : First Side.⁴

- 80 னிலத்திலை⁵ பெற்றது ஹாரஜாஜாடிகளால நெர ஸ்ரூதிககப்பட்டது வி-
 81 சவலாக கரியது ஶீநஜ்யஸாஸநத்தது பொருவருஞ்சிர் அ-
 82 கத்தியனை வுரொஹிதனைப பெற்றது ஊழிஊழிதொறு முள்ள-
 83 து நின்ற ஒருவனை உடையது வாழியா பாண்டியா திருக்குல மி-
 84 (ற)தனில வந்தது தொனறி வானவெலலைவரைத தாண்டும் மலை(க)கடல [க]-
 85 டைந தமிழாது கொண்டுந நானிலத்தொர் விஷயப(ப)பட
 86 நாறகட லொருபக லாடிஉம மறுகி[டு]வாளி மணிமு-
 87 டிஒடு சங்கவெளவளைத தரத்தும்⁷ நிலவுலகம் வவளு-
 88 செயதுந நிகரில வெனறி அமராககுப பலமுறைஉ[ந]⁹
 89 தூதுயத்தும் வாகஸாஸந ஞரம வவவிஉளு⁹ செம்மணிப பூண்டு
 90 தொனறித் தென்றமிழின கரைகண்டும வெம்முனை வெலொன்று விட்டும
 91 விரைவாவிற கடல மீட்டும பூழியனென்ப பெய செயதிஉம்⁹ பொா(க)-⁸
 92 கருனரூயிரம மிசுஉம்⁹ பாழியம்பாயவி னிமிநதும் பஞ்ச-
 93 வனெனும் பெயா நிநீஉம்⁹ வளமதுரைநகா கண்டும மறறதற்கு மதி-

Sixth Plate : Second Side.¹⁰

- 94 ள வகுத்தும் உளமிகக மதிஅதனை லொண்டமிழும் வடமொழி-
 95 உம்⁹ பழுதறத் தானூராயநது பண்டிதரில மெந்தொனறிஉம்⁹ மா-
 96 ரதா மலைகளத தவியப பாரதத்திற பகடொட்டிஉம்⁹ விஜயலை
 97 வஸஸாஸந நிககிஉம்⁹ வெந்தழியச சரம பொ[க⁺]கிஉம்⁹ வசைஇல¹¹ மாக-
 98 கயல புளி சிலை வடவரை நெற்றிலு வரைநதுந தடம்பூதம் பணி [கொ]-
 99 ணடு தடாகங்குள பல திருத்திஉம்⁹ அடுமபசி நொய நா[ட]கற[மி]
 100 அம்பொற வித்ருமுயரிஉ⁹ தலைஆலங்கானத்திற றனனொகக
 101 மிருவெந்தரைக கொலைவாளிற றலை துமிததுக குறத்தலை[மி]ந
 102 கூத்தொழிததும் ஶேஹாராதந தமிழப படுததும் ஶேஹாராஸாஸந ர-
 103 ங்கம் வைத்தும் ஶேஹாராஜரும் ஸாஸாஸனேரு[ஶ⁺] ஶேஶிணுந காந-

¹ Read °भवन्.

² Read °प्रसन्न

³ Read वाङ्मय°.

⁴ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure ' 6 ' in Tamil. The figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle of double lines.

⁵ Read °கிலை.

⁶ Read மறுவிலொளி மணிமுடியொடு. The letters லொளிமணிமு are written over an erasure.

⁷ Read தரித்தும்.

⁸ Read பொற்குனரூயிரம் வீசியும்.

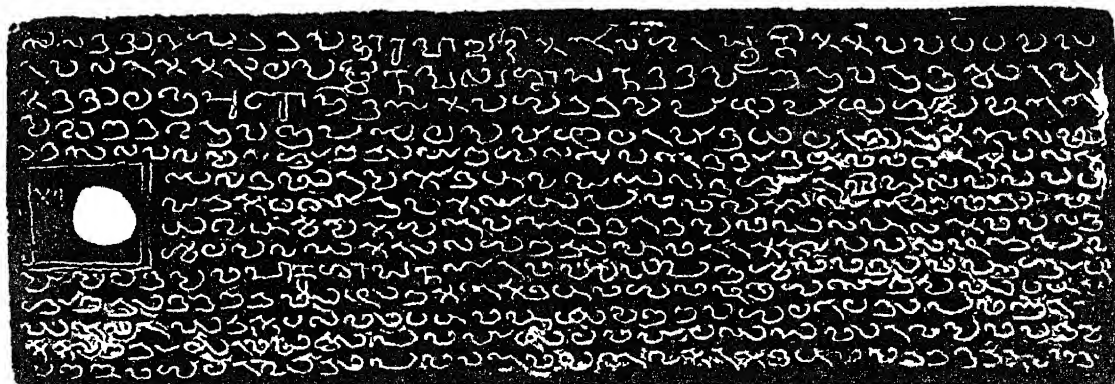
⁹ Read யும்.

¹⁰ Round the ring-hole is marked a rectangle in double lines

¹¹ Read யில.

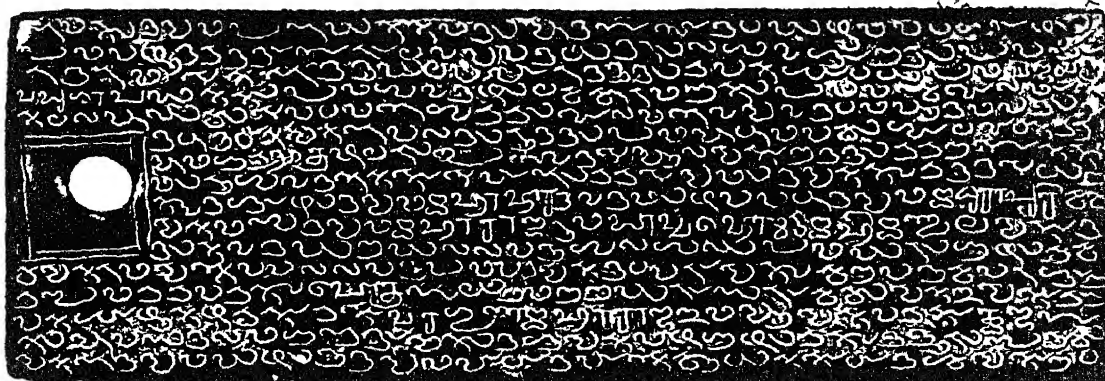
TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(A)

vi a.



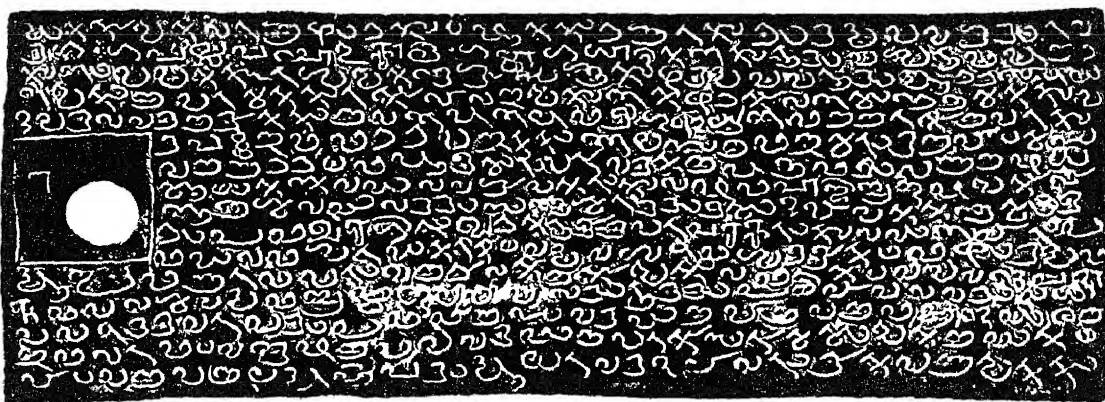
80
82
84
86
88
90
92

vi b.



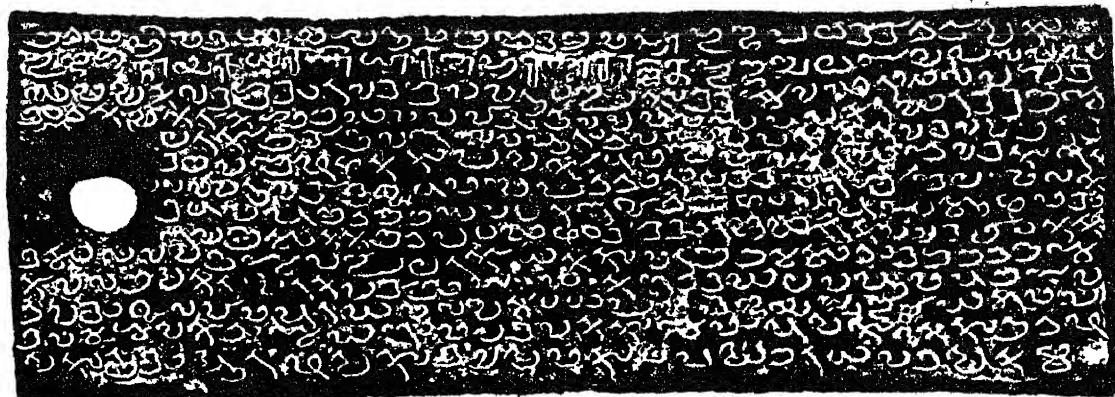
94
96
98
100
102
104
106
108

vii a.



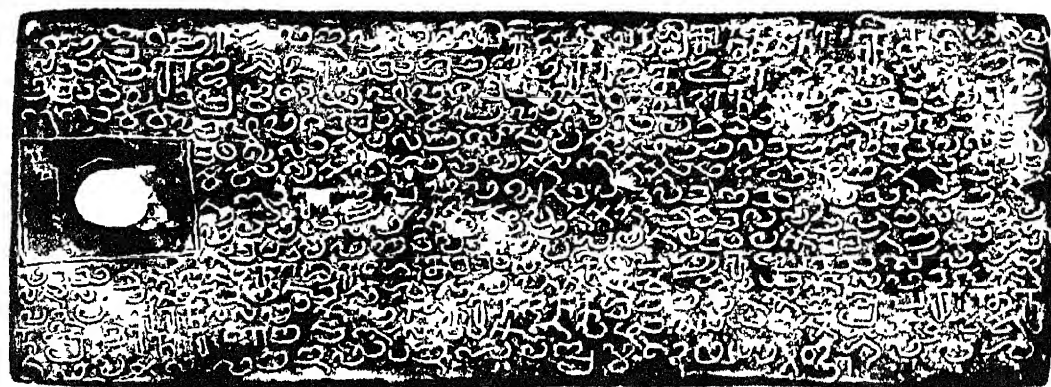
110
112
114
116
118
120
122
124

vii b.



126
128
130
132
134
136
138

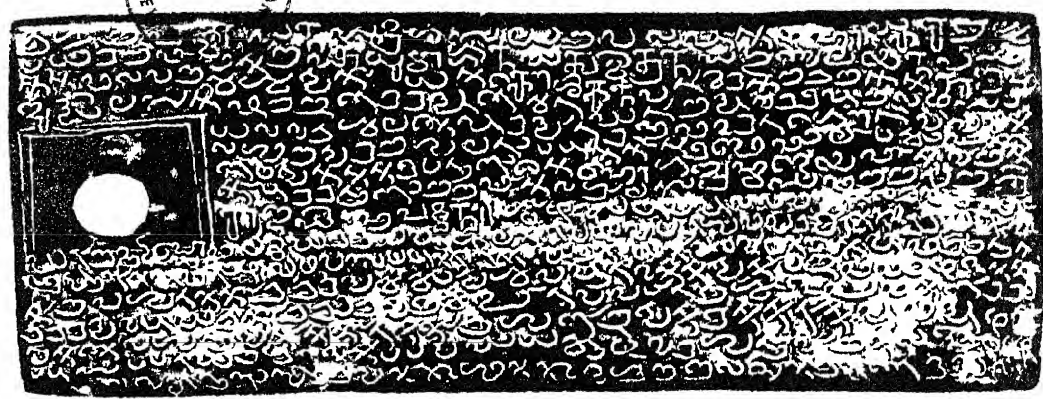
viii a



140
142
144
146
148
150
152



viii b.



154
156
158
160
162
164
166
168

- 104 திகநதபின விலவவனை நெவவெவிஉம¹ விரிபொழி[ற]ச
105 சங்கரமங்ககப பலவவனைஉம¹ புறங்கண்ட² பராங்குசன பஞ்சவா தொன-
106 மலு[ம⁺] மறமவறகு வளகுனாமின மனனபிரா னிராசசிங்கனுங் கொற்ற-
107 வ[ா⁺]க டொழுகழறகாற கொ வாற-ண்ணீலுமாறாஜனும ஆங்கவற காத்தீஜன-
108 கி அவனிதலம பொறை தாங்கித் தெங்கமழ பொழிற் குணனூரிவூரு சி-
109 ந்களததும் விழிஞததும் வாடாத வாகை சூழுக கொடாத செனகொண்ட[ா]-

Seventh Plate. First Side ³

- 110 விக கொங்கலாபொழிற் சூடமுக்கிற பொருநிதது வந்தெதிரந்-
111 த மஹவலுவொஊகாலிஹோமயாலிகள ஞ்ருதிப் பெருமபுனற்
112 குளிப்பக் கூவெங்கணைதொடை ஞெகிழ்த்துப் பருநி ஆற்றலொடு வி-
113 ள்மனின் பரசக்கிரகொலாலனுங் குரைகழற்கா வரை சிறைஞ்சக் குவ-
114 லையதலந் தனதாக்கின வரைபுரையு மணிநெடுதொன மன்னாக்கொன வாஞ்-
115 ணவழிஹும மறமவனுந் கிளையனுன மனுசரிதன வாடசடை-
116 யன பொற்றடம்பூண சிரிபராத்கன புனைமணிப் பொனமுடி-
117 சூடிக் கைநநிலந்தொய கரிசுலமும் [வ]ராஜிவரூமுந்¹ காலா-
118 ஞ்ஞ செநநிவத்தி னிலஞ்செரத் தின்கிலைவாயக் கணை சித்-
119 தீஉம்¹ வரமிரிஹும² கருதாத்வா [வ]ரகரிசுலநிறை வாரிஉ-
120 ம நிலமபொ நிகா கடந்தந் நெடும பெண்ணாகட மழித்தம
121 ஆலும பொப்பரி ஓன்ற லகனகொங்கி லமா கடந்தந் டெவடா-
122 நம் பல செய்தும ஸ்ரீஹுடெயம் ப[வ] திருத்திஉந்¹ நாவலந்நிவடி-
123 ப்படுத்த² நரபதிஉம்¹ வானடைந்தபின் வானவனம்ஹாடெவி என்-
124 னு மலாமடநதை முன பயந்த மின்வாக்கொ னிராசசின்கன விகட-
125 வாடவ்னவனெய் அஹிவதி ஆயிரந்தலையா லரிதாக்கப் பொறுக்கி-

Seventh Plate Second Side

- 126 னத மஹிமண்டலப் பெருமபொறை தன மஹா ஸுஜ்வலத்தாத ரூங்கி
127 ஸுஜமநாய[க்] யாணியாரண ஹரணராஜித ஸுஜ்வலயை உலப்பி-
128 'ரிமங்கலத் தெதிராதத் தெவவருட் லுருத்தத் செந்நிர நிவப்பெண-
129 னிற கங்கராக்கமென நிவப்பாணி தந்நும மடைப்பகாநீரத் த[த்]ருசை-
130 யாகொன தா'ன வரை ரைப்பூரி படைப்பரிசாரந் தநது[பொ]கத்
131 தன பனை முழக்கிலு¹ கொடுமைப் மாநகா நிறைந்த சூரைக-
132 டலப் பெருநதா'ன இடுமைபுஉற¹ மிரியத் த[ந்]ரி'ரணைதைய மெல[கொ]-
133 ணடுமு புனத பொன்னி வடகரைஇ² பொழில் புடைசூழ மத்-
134 ள வஞ்சுகி கனதாட விழித்தெதிராதத் வீரா கவந்தமாடக் க-
135 ண சிவந்தாளு செவலுயா[கொ]டிக் கும[ர]னெனச சீறித் தெனறஞ்சை
136 காவலனது கரிதூரகபதாதி ஸு³ வ⁴ க்ளத் தவியப் பூமுபுன [ரு]வ-
137 றப்பதிஇல⁵ வாம்புரவி பலங் காட்டிலு⁶ விஜயபூஜ⁷ விசம் ப-
138 ணவச செங்கொ நிரைவிளிம் பணவக சூசைமாவுங் கொலைக் குன்றமு-
139 ன் குருநிஆரமுங் குணந்தும் கடுவலு⁸ன ரடிவணங்க ி-

Eighth Plate . First Side ⁸

- 140 ஹெசுலொம மனுஷவிதத விகடவாடவந ஸீகாத்த மிநாங்கிகெஸெடுவ-
141 நதிரன ராஜஸிவாமணி தெனனன ராஜிகமுணமண னங்கொன எ-

¹ Read w for z .

² The syllable *p* has been inserted so close to *u* that the *u*-sign of the latter is not clearly seen.

* To the right of the ring-hole in the figure ' 7 ' in Tamil and both the figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle

‘ Read ബുക്ക്

⁵ Read *u* for *o*.

⁶ Read தெது

⁷ The letter *ḥ* may also be read as *ḥi*.

^s To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '8' in Tamil and both the ring - hole and the figure are enclosed in a double lined rectangle

- 142 ண்ணிறந்த¹ ப்ரஹ்மதேயமும எண்ணிறந்த டேவதாநமும எண்ணிறந்த ப-
 143 ளளிச்சநதமும எததிசை² மினிதியற்றி உராமபிலொ-
 144 தி ஓலிகடலபொ லொருங்கு முன்னந தானமைத்த வலி ரா-
 145 சசிகபபெருங்குளக்கிழச சூழனக ரிருந்த-
 146 ருளி ராஜ்யவஷ-ம் இரண்டாவத னெதிர பதினானகா-
 147 ம யாண்டில மாக கொழுலூரக்கூற்றத்து வருபுனல மிய-
 148 குண்டாறறுப [பு]ததாரெனப பெயரெய்திய கொததாரபொழிறுரா-
 149 மத்திற கொமர கௌரிக மொதூத்தி லாஜிவெஸுகூழ்த்தி லொம்பாழ-
 150 வரில மிக்கொ னுயாதரு பெருமபுகழ்ச செட்டிகுலமதலை கு-
 151 வலையல-ரந நலமிகு லாஷ்ரநதந தென்னவாகொன ஸ்ரீபராதக-
 152 ந ஸ்ரீவிரநாரண னருளால வடகனவழிநாட்டினகட டிசைச்சுட-
 153 ராமங்கவமெனனு மிடனுடைய ப்ரஹ்மதேய மெகவொமரபபெ-

English Plate Second Side.³

- 154 மறென வதாவத ஸஜ்ரஸூயின பல[⁴]புகழ ஹாஷ்ரனசெ-
 155 டடிதன மாமகன ஸாய-ரோழ-ந ஸதூதிதூர ஸஜ்ரஸூயந படை-
 156 ககமலவனச செங்குழக கௌரிகந பராததகன தனக கதூ-உரஹ-
 157 ஸூஜ்யனாகி முன்னுரைத்த அரைசாபிரான அநதணபுனலழனா-
 158 டில நமசெயகைபுதூரதனை மந்தரமௌரவமங்க-
 159 வமெனனு தன பெயரிட்டுக க[⁵]ராணமை மியாட்சி உள-
 160 ளடங்கக கண்டருளி ஏகவொம ப்ரஹ்மதேயமாக நனகு
 161 கொடுத்தருளினன [||⁶] மாகந தொய குடை மன்னவன ஸ்ரீ-
 162 ராஜஸிம்ஹவஜ்-ந || சொழநாட்டுப புலமங்கலத்து சடைய-
 163 பிரான ஹட்டஸோமயாகி⁷ விண்ணப்பஞ செய களவழிநாட்டு வெம்பறதூராக கூற்றங்-
 கொளு-
 164 ணை ஆளாகவும் கிழவெம்பனிடடுக⁸ கூரக்குமாணை குடிகாவல நாயகனாகவும் திருக-
 165 கானப்பொக்கூற்றத்துச கிறுசெவலூர நக்கங்காடனும் மிழலைகூ-
 166 றறத்து நடுவிறகூற்றிற னுஞ்சலூரப படாரஞ்சொலைஉ⁹ களாததி-
 167 ருக்கைப பெருங்காககூரக்கொன வெளானுங் கணக்கராகவும் அழ[¹⁰]-
 168 டடுனாட்டார நின மெலலை காட்டப பிடிசூழநத பெருநானகெலலை கிழெ-
 169 லலை சுருளி ஆற்றுககு மெக்குந தென்னெலலை கறகுளத்தில⁶

TRANSLATION

Sanskrit portion.

(Verse. 1) The ocean, in whose rows of bounding disturbed waves, as in a dancing hall, are (seen) like gems the sun, the stars and the moon, even when agitated at the end of the *Kalpa*, bore the form of his foot-stool.⁷

(V 2) (*Victorious*) was the family of him whose prowess had filled the earth and was a sun (*in destroying*) the night (*viz.*) the great heroism of its enemies. The kings of great glory and merited fame born in this (*family*), held the earth as their legally married wife.

¹ Read ப்ரஹ்ம

² Read பு for உ

³ The ring-hole is enclosed in a double lined rectangle

⁴ Read ஹட்டஸோமயாஜி.

⁵ Read னாட்டுக

⁶ Perhaps one or more plates after this are missing.

⁷ The missing invocatory verses and the abrupt introduction of a king (perhaps named Pāndya) whose greatness is described by verse 1, show that at least a single plate should have been lost, at the beginning. The submission of the ocean to the Pāndyas was a family tradition on which see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 73, foot-note 80; Compare V. 4 of the Vēṭṭikūṭi grant, *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298.

(V. 3.) Of the kings born in this (*family*) who had destroyed all enemy kings and had their edicts established on the snowy mountain, the priest was the venerable Agastya

(V. 4.) One (*of the kings*) born here, whose wealth was his honour, and who had killed the powerful demons in a battle between the gods and the demons, sat alone on the throne of the Lord of the gods (*i.e.*, Indra) in heaven brought down (*to earth*)

(V 5) Another wise king of right conduct, was an ambassador to secure victory for the gods; and (*still*) another of unopposed commands, caused the Ten-headed giant (*i.e.*, Râvana) to sue for peace

(V 6) (*Again*), in that family was born a king who was the husband of (Gangâ) the daughter of the friend of Nara (Arjuna) (*i.e.*, Vishnu), who (like Śiva) had three eyes (trilôchana)¹ whose virtue was praised by the three worlds, a matchless king who stirred the ocean and was a pupil of Agastya

(V 7) (*Another*) born in that (*family*) was adorned with the necklace of Hâri (*i.e.*, Indra) (*which he had*) captured (*from him*) after breaking (*his*) wristlet on the head of the Lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra); still (*another*) king born in that (*family*) conquered Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) and was the conflagration at the end of time to the cotton (*namely*) the army of the lord of the Kurus

(V 8.) Another (*king*) born in that (*family*) cut off his own head in order to save his master; and (*a king*) named Sundara-Pândya born in this (*family*) was a helmsman in the ocean of all Śâstras

(V 9) Countless number of emperors and kings born in this race attained godhood having performed numberless Râjasûya and Âsvamedha sacrifices Which mortal could describe them thoroughly?

(V 10) In that family was born king Arikêsaari, the home of glory, who had controlled his passions His son (*was*) Jatila His son (*was*) the glorious (*and*) virtuous king Râjasimha His son (*was*) the wise Varaguna of great prowess His son (*was*) king Śrî-Mâra whose fame was delightful to hear and who was the invincible lord of wealth (*Śrîvallabha*).

(V 11) He (*i.e.*, Śrî-Mâra) the matchless hero, the beloved of his subjects, having conquered in battle Mâyâ-Pândya, the Kêrala, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha, protected the earth under (*his*) one umbrella

(V. 12) His son, the younger brother of king Varaguna, was the virtuous king Parântaka, whose lotus-feet were brightened by the spreading lustre of the sun-like gems in the crowns of (*prostrating*) kings

(V 13) He quickly captured in a battle near Kharaagiri the powerful (*king*) Ugra who possessed a herd of strong elephants whose tusks were red with the blood of enemy kings with an army (*which was*) the only sword (*held*) in hand

¹ It is not likely that here we have to take Trilôchana as a proper name Pândya kings in general are mentioned in Vv. 4—9; and no particular person, excepting Sundara-Pândya of V 8, is mentioned by name

- 142 ண்ணிறந்த ¹வ்ருஷ்டெயமும் எண்ணிறந்த டெவடாதமும் எண்ணிறந்த ப-
 143 ள்ளிச்சந்தமும் எத்திசை² மினிதியற்றி உராமபிலொ-
 144 தி ஒளிகடலபொ லொருங்கு முன்னந தானமைத்த வலி ரா-
 145 ச்சிங்கப்பெருங்குளக்கிழச சூழனக ரிருந்த-
 146 ருளி ராஜுவஷ்டம் இரண்டாவத னெதிர பதினானகா-
 147 ம யாண்டில மாக கொழுஷ்டாகூற்றத்து வருபுனல மிய-
 148 குண்டாறறுப [பு]ததாரெனப பெயரெய்திய கொத்தாரபொழிறுரா-
 149 மத்திற கொமர கௌஸிக மொதூத்தி லாஜிவெஸுகூத்தி லொம்பாழ-
 150 வரில மிக்கொ னுயாதரு பெருமபுகழ்ச செட்டிகுலமதலை கு-
 151 வலையலாந நலமிகு லாஷ்டாநநந தென்னவாகொன ஸ்ரீபராதக-
 152 ந ஸ்ரீவிரநாரண னருளால வடகளவழிநாட்டினகட டிசைச்சுட-
 153 ராமங்கலமெனனு மிடனுடைய வ்ருஷ்டெய மெகவொமமாபபெ-

English Plate Second Side ³

- 154 மறொன வதாவத ஸஜுஸனாயின பவ[ர*]புகழ லாஷ்டானசெ-
 155 டடிதன மாமகன ஸாயுஷ்டம்⁴ ஸதூதிதூ ஸஜுஸனாயந படை-
 156 க்கமலவனச செங்குழக கௌஸிகந பராததகன நனக கநாமுத-
 157 ஸுஜியனாகி முன்னுரைத்த அரைசாபிரான அந்தணபுனலழனுட-
 158 டில நறசெயகைபுத்தாரதனை மந்தரமௌரவமங்க-
 159 லமெனனு தன பெயரிட்டுக க[ர]ராணமை மியாட்சி உள-
 160 ளடங்கக கண்டருளி ஏகவொம வ்ருஷ்டெயமாக நனகு
 161 கொடுத்தருளினன [||*] மாகந தொய குடை மன்னவன ஸ்ரீ-
 162 ராஜஸிம்ஹவஜ்ஜ || சொழநாட்டுப புலவமங்கலத்து சடைய-
 163 பிரான ஹட்டஸோமயாகி⁵ விண்ணப்பஞ செய களவழிநாட்டு வெம்பறறாக் கூற்றங்-
 164 கொளு-
 164 ணை ஆளாகவும் கிழவெம்பனிடடுக⁶ கூரக்குமாண குடிகாவல நாயகனாகவும் திருக-
 165 கானப்பொககூற்றத்துச சிறுசெவ்வூர நககங்காடனும மிழலைகூ-
 166 மறத்து நடுவிறகூற்றிற னுஞ்சலூரப படாரஞ்சொலைஉம⁷ களாததி-
 167 ருக்கைப பெருங்காக்கூரக்கொன வெளானுங் கணக்கராகவும் அழ[ன]-
 168 டடுனாட்டார நின மெலலை காட்டப பிடிசூழந்த பெருநானகெலலை கிழெ-
 169 லலை சுருளிஆற்றுககு மெக்குந தென்னெலலை கற்குளத்தில ⁸

TRANSLATION

Sanskrit portion.

(Verse 1) The ocean, in whose rows of bounding disturbed waves, as in a dancing hall, are (seen) like gems the sun, the stars and the moon, even when agitated at the end of the *Kalpa*, bore the form of his foot-stool.⁷

(V 2) (*Victorious*) was the family of him whose prowess had filled the earth and was a sun (*in destroying*) the night (*viz*) the great heroism of its enemies The kings of great glory and merited fame born in this (*family*), held the earth as their legally married wife

¹ Read வ்ருஷ்ட

² Read யு for உ.

³ The ring-hole is enclosed in a double lined rectangle.

⁴ Read ஹட்டஸோமயாஜி

⁵ Read னாட்டுக

⁶ Perhaps one or more plates after this are missing.

⁷ The missing invocatory verses and the abrupt introduction of a king (perhaps named Pāndya) whose greatness is described by verse 1, show that at least a single plate should have been lost, at the beginning. The submission of the ocean to the Pāndyas was a family tradition on which see *Ind Ant*, Vol. XXII, p. 73, foot-note 80; Compare V. 4 of the Vêṭvikudī grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298.

(V. 3.) Of the kings born in this (*family*) who had destroyed all enemy kings and had their edicts established on the snowy mountain, the priest was the venerable Agastya

(V. 4) One (*of the kings*) born here, whose wealth was his honour, and who had killed the powerful demons in a battle between the gods and the demons, sat alone on the throne of the Lord of the gods (*i.e.*, Indra) in heaven brought down (*to earth*)

(V. 5) Another wise king of right conduct, was an ambassador to secure victory for the gods; and (*still*) another of unopposed commands, caused the Ten-headed giant (*i.e.*, Râvana) to sue for peace

(V. 6) (*Again*), in that family was born a king who was the husband of (Gangâ) the daughter of the friend of Nara (Arjuna) (*i.e.*, Vishnu), who (like Śiva) had three eyes (trilôchana)¹ whose virtue was praised by the three worlds, a matchless king who stirred the ocean and was a pupil of Agastya

(V 7) (*Another*) born in that (*family*) was adorned with the necklace of Hari (*i.e.*, Indra) (*which he had*) captured (*from him*) after breaking (*his*) wristlet on the head of the Lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra), still (*another*) king born in that (*family*) conquered Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) and was the conflagration at the end of time to the cotton (*namely*) the army of the lord of the Kurus

(V 8) Another (*king*) born in that (*family*) cut off his own head in order to save his master; and (*a king*) named Sundara-Pândya born in this (*family*) was a helmsman in the ocean of all Śâstras

(V 9) Countless number of emperors and kings born in this race attained godhood having performed numberless Râjasûya and Âsvamedha sacrifices Which mortal could describe them thoroughly?

(V 10) In that family was born king Arîkêsa¹, the home of glory, who had controlled his passions His son (*was*) Jâtila His son (*was*) the glorious (*and*) virtuous king Râjasimha His son (*was*) the wise Varaguna of great prowess His son (*was*) king Śrî-Mâra whose fame was delightful to hear and who was the invincible lord of wealth (Śrivallabha).

(V 11) He (*i.e.*, Śrî-Mâra) the matchless hero, the beloved of his subjects, having conquered in battle Mâyâ-Pândya, the Kêrala, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha, protected the earth under (*his*) one umbrella

(V 12) His son, the younger brother of king Varaguna, was the virtuous king Parântaka, whose lotus-feet were brightened by the spreading lustre of the sun-like gems in the crowns of (*prostrating*) kings

(V 13) He quickly captured in a battle near Kharagiri the powerful (*king*) Ugra who possessed a herd of strong elephants whose tusks were red with the blood of enemy kings with an army (*which was*) the only sword (*held*) in hand

¹ It is not likely that here we have to take Trilôchana as a proper name Pândya kings in general are mentioned in Vv 4—9; and no particular person, excepting Sundara-Pândya of V 8, is mentioned by name

(V. 14) This emperor, himself of meritorious fame, caused the circle of the earth to be filled with holy boundless Brâhmin settlements¹, numerous temples and countless tanks

(V. 15) The wife of that king was the glorious Vânavanmahâdevî, as Śrî (was) of Śrînivâsa (i.e., Vishnu) and as Paulômî (Śachî) (was) of Śatakratu (Indra).

(V. 16.) Of this queen was born to him, who was the abode of prosperity, the son, king Râjasimha who was the repository of intelligence, valour, stability, courage, nobility and liberality and who successfully scared away the heroism of (his) enemies

(V. 17) Having obtained him, the banner of (both) the (solar) (and the lunar) races, who caused the utmost grief to the host of enemy kings, satisfaction to the crowds of supplicants and fame (to reach) all directions, the earth (now) became (truly) possessed of a king

(V. 18) The requests of all supplicants are not enough for (i.e., to satisfy) his liberality; nor the enemies for his prowess; nor all the worlds for (his) lustrous fame; nor (again) the words of the Master of Words (i.e., Brihaspati) for praising (his) virtues

(V. 19) Dignified as Bhârata, he rules the earth filling all Brahmans with endless wealth, the enemies with ruin which fully deprives (them) of (their) wealth and the ten quarters with faultless fame

(V. 20) A great favourite of this lord, the king, was the glorious son of the illustrious Śrêshthîsarma, who was famous by the well-known name Parântaka, who was born in the Kauśika lineage, was possessed of wealth which was learning, who was the best of the upright and of famous descent, who was widely known, wise, dutiful and virtuous, of excellent character and highly modest

(V. 21) This (Parântaka) who was ever devoted for the good of others, who was the ocean (into which emptied itself) the river of learning and who was the Pârîjâta (celestial) tree (in fulfilling) the desires of all classes of wise men, was the grandson of him who was named Bhâskara, the sole repository of the Trayî (Vêdas), and the great-grandson of him named Śrêshthî who was the purest of the Śenkuti-Kauśikas of great religious austerity born in Puttûr, a mine of knowledge and modesty and the home of prosperity.

(V. 22.) His ancestors who had reached the (other) end of Vêdic (learning) established on this earth the extensive work called Kalpa written by Âgnivêśya²

(V. 23) His maternal grandfather was the famous Ūrâsarman, the chief of the residents of Syandana-grâma, of the Maudgalya (lineage), who was of high birth and noble character, illustrious, intelligent, famous and a prop of virtue

(V. 24) Knowledge, noble conduct, wealth, modesty, praiseworthy riches, a conscience ever attached to the lotus-feet of the lord of Lakshmi (Vishnu), a descent ever high and pure, permanent fame and superior intelligence—these were the rule in the family of him (i.e., Ūrasarman) whose fame was widely known

(V. 25—27.) His (i.e., Parântaka's) father, the wise and illustrious Śrêshthîsarma, whose conduct was pure, who was as powerful and glorious as Pitâmaha

¹ The word *agrâhâra* is used in place of the usual word *agrahâra*, for the sake of the metre.

² Perhaps they were proficient in the *Âgnivêśya-kalpa*, the doctrine of medicine in which Âgnivêśya is said to have been a predecessor of Suśruta.

(Brahma) who was the one resort of modesty, intelligent, good and of noble descent whose fame was pleasant to hear and who was the leader of the wise, received from the heroic (*king*) Parântaka, lord Vîranârâyana of meritorious fame and an ornament of the Pândya race, the Brahman village (*agrahâra*) named Maniyâchi of unfailing fertility, (*which was*) a famous *agrahâra* (situated) in Vada-Kalavali-râshtra¹ re-naming (it) Tisai chchudarmangala

(Vv 28—32) The same god-like king of unfailing prosperity, who pleased the whole circle of the earth and satisfied (*his*) subjects, who destroyed the host of enemies, who was the banner of polity, whose prowess was (*equal to*) that of Śakra (*i.e.*, Indra) and who removed the troubles (*of the people*) on the circle of the earth, in the 16th year of his reign, while camping² in the famous village named Châlal situated in the territorial division (*râshtra*) called Râjasimhakulakâl, gave with libations of water, to the Brahman, Parântakaśarmaṇ, the whole of the matchless and excellent *agrahâra* named Narcheygai-Puttûr situated in Ala-nâdu which was famous with its (*second*) name Mandaragauravamangalam, as a *brahmadêya* property, together with (*its*) *kârânmaṇ* and *myâtchi* and with (*its*) four boundaries marked off by the circumambulation of the female elephant

(V. 33) The *vyñapti* of this (grant) was the minister Jatila of respectable descent and a storehouse of prosperity who was the councillor of the king and a poet of the Atri-gôtra, who had performed (Vêdic) sacrifices

(V 34) The *âñapti* of this (grant) was the servant of that crest-jewel of warriors, the illustrious Mâravarmaṇ, who was descended of a pure family and was called Kûrrangôn

(V 35) A minister of the king, born at (*the village of*) Kûra, the son of a nobleman of Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu and known by the famous name Nakkankumân, was the master of the female elephant³ and the warden (*kudikûval*).

(V. 36.) Also Nakkana-Kâda, Kôn-Vêlân and he, called Patârân-Chôla—these (*three*) accountants were appointed (to supervise) the circumambulation of the female elephant

(V. 37.) Worshipped by all rulers, this (*king*) Abhimânamêru prostrates (*himself*) every day before all future kings with palms folded (*over his head*) (and saying) “ Oh! pure-minded kings! Protect (*this*) my gift! ”

(V 38) Vâsudêva, the friend of Madhuraguna and the elder brother of Vishnu who had studied the whole (*science of*) literature and was the birth place of modesty and intelligence, composed this matchless *prasasti*

Tamil portion

(Line 76) Hail! Prosperity! May the prosperous family of the Pândyas live long—(*the family*) which came forth commencing with the white Moon enthroned on the brilliant

¹ *Râshtratah* has evidently to be understood in the sense of *râstrê*

² The word *âvâsât* may be compared with *âvâsakât* or *vâsakât* which often occur at the beginning of copper plate inscriptions

³ The significance of this attribute is not clear. The female elephant referred to is perhaps the one that circumambulated the village

planted hair of H a r a (*i.e.*, Śiva), and born (*from the milk ocean*) along with (*the goddess of*) prosperity, the pure ambrosia, the K a u s t u b h a (gem) of lustre like that of the Sun's and that single elephant (the Airāvata) of flowing rut,—a fit object of praise for the people of the four quarters which possesses the four (*divisions*) of the earth; which was justly extolled by B h â r a d v â j a and other (*sages*); which was beyond the reach of enemies; whose commands bore (*the seal of*) the double¹ fish, which had for its family priest (the sage) A g a s t y a of unequalled glory; which has been in existence through aeons and which counts (among its members) the one ever-lasting Being.²

(L. 84.) After many great kings and emperors born in this (*family*) who ruled right up to the boundaries of the heavens, (*such as*) he who churned the billowy ocean and obtained nectar; he who bathed in a single day³ in the four oceans, causing admiration to the people of the four (*divisions of*) the earth, who with a crown (*bedecked*) with gems of faultless lustre, wore (*also*) an anklet of white conch, he who went round the globe of the earth; he who sent ambassadors on several occasions to the gods of matchless victory, he who carried away the garland of P â k a ś â s a n a (*i.e.*, Indra), he who, appearing with ornaments of valuable gems, mastered the T a m i l (*language*) of the south; he who by throwing a sharp-edged javelin caused the quick return of the sea, acquired the name P ū l i y a n; who gave away thousands (of gifts) of the golden hill (Mêru), he who stood firmly in the field (*of battle*) at P â l i and obtained the name P a ñ c h a v a n, he who founded the prosperous city of M a d u r a and built (*a surrounding*) wall for it; he who with the supreme intelligence of his mind, was profoundly versed in the beautiful T a m i l and S a n s k r i t and became the foremost among scholars, he who led the elephants in the B h â r a t a (*war*) so as to destroy the great charoteers in a hill-battle⁴, he who relieved V i j a y a (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu, he who drove (*his enemies*) to the forest so that they might be scorched up and destroyed (*there*) and had the blameless (*royal emblems*) of the big fish, the tiger and the bow engraved on the top of the Northern Mountain (*i.e.* the Himâlayas), he who, securing the services of huge giants, restored many tanks and relieved the country from disease and pinching hunger, he who with a dreadful sword cut off the heads of two kings that advanced against him in the battles at C h i t r m u y a r i and T a l a i y â l a n g â n a m and stopped the dance of their (*two*) headless trunks and he who had the M a h â b h â r a t a translated into T a m i l and had established the "Śangam" in the town of M a d h u r a. had ruled the circle of the earth and had passed away

(L. 104) Then (*came*) P a r â n k u ś a, the king of the P a ñ c h a v a s (*i.e.*, Pândyas) who saw the back of the C h é r a king (*Villavan*) at N e l v ê l i and that of the P a l l a v a (king) at Ś a n k a r a m a n g a i of extensive pleasure gardens His grandson (*was*) R â j a s i m h a, the lord of kings (*Next came*) king V a r a g u n a-M a h â r â j a whose feet (*wearing*) anklets are worshipped by monarchs⁵ His son was P a r a c h a k r a k ô l â h a l a, who bore the burden of the earth, who wore (a victorious garland of) never-fading *vâgai*

¹ It is possible that *dvaya* here stands for *dhvaja* = banner.

² The reference is evidently to the story in the Hâlâsyapurâṇa of Śiva himself being counted as one of the Pândyas

³ *I.e.*, day time.

⁴ [*Mahârata* and *Malakalam* may preferably be left untranslated The former may refer to a people and the latter to a field of battle The passage when so altered would stand thus — "Who led his elephants into Bhârata and caused the Mahârathas to be destroyed at Malai-kalam.—K V.S.]

⁵ The relationship existing between Râjasimha and Varaguna-Mahârâja is not given.

(flowers)¹ at Kunnûr, (*surrounded by*) gardens of delightful fragrance, at Śingalam and at Viliñam, who firmly wielded his sceptre and who shining with the prowess of the Sun and shooting from (*his*) bow-string sharp and deadly arrows on Ganga, Pallava, Chôla, Kalinga, Magadha and other (*kings*) that came to give battle and opposed (*him*) at Kudamûkkil of fragrant and blooming flower-gardens and made them bathe in a big river of blood

(L 113) (*Next came*) Varagunavarman, the lord of kings, whose feet were worshipped by kings (*wearing*) jingling anklets on their legs, and who by (*his*) beautiful long arms resembling hills, made the earth his own

(L 115) His younger brother, the glorious warrior Parântakan Śadaiyan, the king whose conduct (*followed the rules prescribed by*) Manu, who wore many golden ornaments, who put on a golden crown decorated with gems, who showered arrows from (*his*) powerful bow so that the elephant troops whose (long) trunks touched the earth, the horse battalions and the infantry (of the enemies) fell on the earth at (*the battle of*) Śennilam, who captured at Kharagiri crowds of files of powerful elephants of enemy (*kings*) and won a battle at Nilambêr, who had destroyed the extensive Pennâgaḍam, who with the help of a single powerful prancing horse, won battles in the extensive Kongu (*country*), who performed many (*gifts of*) *dēvadāna* (*lands*) and restored many *brahmadēya* (grants) and who subdued the whole of India (*Nāvattīvu*)², having also gone to heaven

(L. 123.) The first son of the goddess of the (lotus) flower (i. e., Lakshmi) called Vānavanmahādēvi, was he the king of the Mīnavar, (i. e., the Pāndyas) Rājasimha Vikatavādavan³, who having himself borne (*easily*) by the strength of his broad shoulders, the great burden of the circle of the earth which the lord of serpents (i. e., Śēsha) bears with much difficulty by his thousand heads, became distinguished as "the strong-armed that relieved the serpent Lord of (*the pain of*) carrying the earth", who at Ulappinimangalam pierced the bodies of the enemies that attacked (*him*), and gave (*their*) blood, the superior (*position*) of becoming the scented cosmetics of the good goddess Earth, who sounded his drum when the king of the Tañjai (*country*) (*full of*) water flowing from sluices, ran away surrendering his arms,⁴ at Naippûr which was filled with mountain-like battalions⁵; who commenced his battle⁶ at the big city of Kodumbai where the assembled (*enemy's*) forces, vast like the roaring ocean, dispersed suffering affliction; whose looks caused (*the town of*) Vañji with walls surrounded on all sides by flower-gardens (*and situated*) on the northern bank of the Kâvērî (*Ponni*) abounding in water to be consigned to flames, and whose eyes which became red (*with anger*) made to dance the headless bodies of the heroes that opposed him, who like Kumâra (Skanda) of the high cockflag, swelled with rage and displayed the strength of (*his*) galloping steeds by destroying in the battle at the beautiful and well watered town of Nâval the crowds of elephants, horses and foot-men of the lord of the southern Tañjai (*country*) (*His*) victorious flag reaching the sky, his sceptre wielded (*right*) up to the ends of quarters, acquiring the bridled horse, the chief mountain and the blood-red garland, was enjoying the pleasure of Mahēndra with his prosperous sons worshipping at his feet, the king Vikatavādava, the lord of Prosperity, who marked the chief of mountains with his fish

¹ I.e., 'was victorious at'

² The Jambudvīpa.

³ The great sub-marine fire to the ocean of his enemies

⁴ The phrase *pulai-pparisārm tandu* has been tentatively translated 'surrendered his arms'.

⁵ *Tānai varai* has perhaps to be taken as an adjective qualifying Naippûr

⁶ The phrase may also be interpreted as "having mounted on the back of his (elephant) Ranôdaya."

emblem, the crest-jewel of kings, this lord of the south (*Tennan*), of many brilliant virtues having founded with pleasure in every direction numberless *brahmadēyas*, numberless *dēvadānas*, and numberless *pallichechandam*

(L. 143) Being pleased to stay in the town of Chûlâl (*situated*) in Râjasingaperungulam, abounding in wreath of water-lilies and resembling the noisy ocean which was formerly founded by himself—in the 14th year opposite the 2nd year of his reign, the Brâhman Bhâskaran-Setti who was like the lotus-born (Brahmâ) and was praised by all, the son of the virtuous Bhâskara, the chief of the noble and illustrious race of the Settis, the foremost of Ombâlvas of the Âgnivêśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kauśika-gôtra (living) in the village Kôttârpôlil¹ named Puttûr in the watery Miyyundâru (district) (*which was included*) in the big (*district of*) Koluvûrkûrram, having obtained as *ekabhôga* the *brahmadēyu* consisting of the place (called) Tîśaichchudarmangalam in Vada-Kalavalinâdu, by the grace of the Pândya king the glorious Parântakan śrî-Vîranâranan.

(L. 155) The chief of kings mentioned above, the illustrious Râjasimhavarman, the sovereign whose umbrella touched the sky, desirous of doing some good to Parântaka the famous son of Bhâskaran Setti (*i.e.*, Setti son of Bhâskara) who walked in the path of the virtuous, a Kauśika of Sengudi (surrounded by) a forest of lotuses, the friend of the created beings and the home of good qualities, was pleased to kindly confer as *ekabhôga-brahmadēya* together with *kârânmai* and *mîyâtchi* (the village) Narcheygai. Puttûr in Alâ-nâdu of beautiful streams of cool water which he was pleased to found calling it Mandaragauravamangalam after his own name

(L. 162) The *vinappam* (of this grant) was Śadayapirân Bhattasomayâjin of Pullamangalam in Śôlâ-nâdu, the *âjñaphi* (*ânai-âl*) (of the grant) was Kûrrangôn of Vêmbarrûr in Kalavalinâdu; the chief warden (*Kudikâval-nâyakan*) was Kumân of Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâdu and the accountants were Nakkân-Kâdan of Śîru-Śevûr in Tirukkânappêrkûrram, Patârañ-Chôlai of Tuñjalûr in Naduvîrkûrram (a sub-division) of Mîlalaik-kûrram and Kôn-Vêlân of Peruṅgâkkûr (near) Kalâttirukkai.

(L. 167) The residents (*nâttâi*) of Alâ-nâdu being appointed to mark the boundary line, the female elephant was led around and (the following) four big boundaries were thus (marked) The eastern boundary (was) to the west of Śuruliyaaru, the southern boundary (was) in Karkulam²

TEXT³

[Metres: Vv. 1—4, *Anushtubh.*]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति⁴ [॥⁵] पत्मा⁶[सु]अपरिष्वंगप्रमदोत्पुळकायु[धी]:⁶[॥⁵] विद्यायशोविमूती-

2 न्नः पुष्पात्तु पुरुषोत्तम⁷]: ॥—[१] अन्वयस्सुचिरं स्थेयाद⁷मृतां-

¹ [Mr Venkayya has also treated *Kôttârpôlil* as a proper noun and as a surname of the village Puttûr. I would prefer to read *Kôttârpôlil* instead of *Kôttârpôli* and take it as an adjunct to *grâma* (village) meaning “(surrounded) by a forest filled with bunches of flowers”—K V S.]

² The inscription is incomplete. One or more copper-plates must be missing.

³ From the original plates and a set of ink impressions prepared by the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁴ These two syllables are engraved on the margin of the plate opposite to line 4.

⁵ Read पद्मा°

⁶ Read °कायुधी । Perhaps the *visarga* after धी was meant for a दण्ड

⁷ The actual reading is °यादमृतां°

TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR--(B)

2

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, lines 2-8.

2

4

6

8

na.

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, lines 10-18.

10

12

14

16

18

nb

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, lines 20-28.

20

22

24

26

28

271

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a copper plate, lines 30-38.

30

32

34

36

38

3 शुसमुद्धवः [1*] सुरारिदर्पहन्तारो नरेन्द्रा यत्र जज्ञिरे ॥ [२+] கட்டுத-

4 கிராண(ன) னனவயத்திராவணன தழிவகல ஸரேபேவத த-

5 ஸாரமணதூலை அழியச சிலை குனிதது வடவரையதுவலா-

6 ரகுனிகை மணிக்கெண்டைப்பொறி சூட்டியுந தெனவரைமி-

7 சைக குஹோஹ்வநது திருதமிழிற செவி கழுவிடும் ஹரிஹய-

8 நது ஹாரம பூண்டு ஶீ-ஸாஸந மவனெ டெறிஉரு¹ சரிவனையவன-

9 திருமுடிமிசைத் தூணி பலபடத தொளொச்சு¹ மொத மி-

Second Plate : First Side

10 ள வெவெறிநதும் மொராரூரங்² கூதுச செயதும் ஹுதமணம்

11 பணியாணடும் ஹவநதும் பொது நிக்கியும் யான யாயி-

12 ர மையயமிட்டு(ம) மபரிமித மதிரயங்கள் செய தூ-

13 னமில் புகழ்ப பாணுவம்ஸத் தொலொகநாயா பலா கழி-

14 நதபின ஜஹிதயஸொராராஸிஜ்-பதூவஜ்-ன³ மகனாகிப ப-

15 கை(ப)ஹுபா தலை பணிபபப பரஜேஸூரன வெளி[ற]பட்டு⁴ சரிகெஸ-

16 நி சஸலேனை கஹுவிகுரே ககராகா(ன)னெனத தன-

17 கருரியன பல ஹணநாம முலகுமுழு துகநதெததப பரா-

18 வனிபருவ மிறஞ்ச⁵ப பாசகலம் பொது நிக்கி ஶீராஸாரா

19 திடரகல ஶீரவஷ-ம்⁶ பொழித[ற]கு வொஹகத்தின வுதம் கொண-

Second Plate : Second Side.

20 டு துஹாவார மினிதெறி ஸரணுய யுலகளிதது ஹிரணு-

21 மஹ-மிருகால புகரு மொஸஹவசுததுடக்கத்துக ஹரு[உ]-

22 னம் பல செய்து வாஸவன பொல விற்றிருநதன்ன வஸ-

23 யாவதி ஶாரவஜ்-ன [1+] மதறவறகு மகனாகி மதிபுரையுங் கு-

24 டைநிழல வறற மினறி அவனினை முட்டும-

25 பி அருளபயநது கஹுதத்தின வுதம் கொண்டு கலிகஹ-

26 ஷ மறநிக்கி அறபமலலா உருவம் கொடுத்த தவனிஸ-ர ரி-

27 டாநிக்கிக கருதாது வந்தெதிரந்த கழலவெந்தருட-

28 னவிய மருதாரொடு குவனைமலையு மததவெழகு செல வுநதிச-

Last Plate.⁶

29 கருக கிழக்கும வடவெலலை கொற்றனபுத்தார பகவதிகொஹு⁷-

30 கருக தெற[கு+] மிவவிதைத்த⁷ பெருநானகெலையுடபட்டது ஸஹ-வரி-

31 ஹாரஞ் செயதுகுத்து⁸ மிதறகாணத்தி[ப+]பட்டா னண்டனாட்டுக

32 குணோக்கூற்றததுக குணே ருத்தரமநதிரியாயின தாயன

33 சிவகன இதன புறங்காவ வெண்பதைதவகலங் குடுக்க பது-

34 து⁹ 10 மாற்றிதனைக காததார [த+]ன¹¹ மலரடி என முடி மெலன என்று கொற-

35 மவனெய பணித்தருளித தெற்றெனத தா¹²ஸாஸநஞ் செய[வி]ததான [1*]

¹ Read யு for உ.

² Read யி for இ

³ Compare with this metrical attribute जगद्गति-यशोराशि, the similar attribute यरणिधरणहरणराजित applied to Rājāsīmha III in the Bigger Sīnmananūr plates, Text—line 127.

⁴ The letter ஡ is corrected from ச.

⁵ Read மிறைஞ்ச-

⁶ How many plates may be missing before this cannot be determined

⁷ Read ஃவிசைத்த

⁸ Read ஃகுதேதோடம்

⁹ Read ஃபட்டது,

¹⁰ Read மறறி

¹¹ Read ஃதம்.

36 सदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसु[न्व]राम् [1*] षष्ठी वर्षसहस्राणि

37 विद्यायाज्ञायते कृमी । [1+] [३+] ब्रह्मस्वरत्न'णादन्यत्पुण्यमूलन्न विद्यते [1+] तस्याति-

38 [क्रमणादन्यत्पा]मूलन्न विद्यते [11+][१*] பாண்டி[ப]பெருமபிணைகாசன மகன் சுரிகௌரி
எழுத்து |

TRANSLATION.

(V. 1) Hail! May Purushôttama (*i.e.*, Vishnu) who wears his characteristic weapons² and whose hairs stand on end in the rapture of an embrace from the arms of Padmâ (*i.e.*, Lakshmî), profusely grant us knowledge, fame and prosperity

(V. 2.) May the family prosper long, that which is produced from the nectar-rayed (Moon), in which were born kings who crushed the pride of the enemies of gods (*i.e.*, demons).

(L. 3.) After a number of kings of the Pândya family of endless fame (*born*) in the race of the Moon,—who drew their bow to cut off the heads of crowds of *Asuras* on the battle-front, to prevent the destruction of Âkhandala (*i.e.*, Indra); who decorated the adamantine crest of the Northern Mountain (*i.e.*, the Himalayas) with the (royal) sign of the beautiful carp; who bathed their ears with the sweet Tamil of Kumbhodbhava (*i.e.*, Agastya), residing on the top of the Southern Mountain³, who wore the necklace of Harîhaya (*i.e.*, Indra) and sat with him on one half of his throne; who raised (*their*) arms showering many (*arrows*) from (*their*) quivers on the sacred crown of Śurivalaîyavan; who threw the javelin in order to drive back the (*encroaching*) sea; performed a thousand sacrifices, exacted service from crowds of goblins; released the expanse of Earth of (*her*) common possession (*by kings*), bestowed on supplicants a thousand elephants and did many (*other*) astounding deeds—had passed away;

(L. 14) there was seated on the (Pândya) throne like Vâsava (Indra), the king, the great lord Mâravarmān,—who being the son of Jayantavarman whose great fame was sung by the world, burst forth causing the heads of hostile kings to tremble, (his) many characteristic titles (*such as*) Arikêsarî, Asamasaman, Alanghyavikraman and Akâlakâlan, being ravishingly proclaimed by the whole world, a host of enemy kings prostrating, released the extensive Earth of (*its*) common possession (*by other kings*), resolved to act in the fashion of the thunder cloud in raining gold on Brâhmanas and removed their distress; ascended the Tulâbhâra with pleasure, ruled the world offering protection to all, entered twice the (*womb of*) *hiranyagarbha* and made many other great gifts beginning with *gôśahasra*

(L. 23.) And his son was . . . who having immediately protected without a flaw the circle of the Earth brought (*her*) under the shade of his moon-like umbrella, who in giving forth benevolence resolved to act in the fashion of the wishing tree (*Kalpaka*), expelled completely the sins of the Kalî (*age*), averted the misery of the gods of Earth (*i.e.*, Brâhmanas) by giving great wealth, who at Marudûr and Kuvalaimalai drove rutting elephants (*into the battle-field*) so that heroes wearing anklets who opposed, attacked or unwarily advanced and stood in his way became extinct, who . . .

¹ Read रक्ष °

² These are the conch, disc, club and the lotus.

³ The Podiyil hill in the Tinnevely district is said to have been the seat of Agastya

(L. 29) to the east of , the northern boundary (was) to the south of the Bhagavatī temple of Korranputtūr (*The land*) comprised within the thus-described four big boundaries was given away with all exemptions. Its *ánatti* (Skt *ājñāpti*) was Tâyan Śingan who was the *uttaramantri* of Kundūr (*a village*) in Kundūr-kūrram of Anda-nâdu. The *purāṅkāval*¹ to be given on this (*land*) is eighty-five kalam (*of paddy*).

(L. 34.) "The flower-like feet of those that protect this (*gift*) shall be on my crown": So saying, the king himself graciously ordered and had (*this*) copper edict executed at once.

[Verses 3 and 4 are the usual imprecations.]

(L. 38.) (This is) the signature of Arikēsari, son of Pāndi-Perumbanaikāran.

FIVE CHOLA COPPER-PLATES FROM TIRUKKALAR

No. 207.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

These are five copper-plates belonging to the Pârijâtavanêśvara temple at Tirukkalar, a village ten miles south-east of Mannârgudi in the Tanjore district². A short notice of these appeared in Dr Hultzsch's *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1902—03, paragraph 17. The report also contains a list of 23 stone inscriptions which were copied from the same temple.³ These five copper-plates, strung on a copper-ring of 5" diameter, have flat rims, measure 1' $\frac{7}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " each, weigh together 566 tolas and have ring-holes bored in the middle of the left margin about an inch from the edge. They contain in them five complete inscriptions of different Chôla kings. The first of them, which is also the earliest, is a record of Parakēsarivarman Rājendra-Chôla I who ascended the Chôla throne in A.D. 1012. It begins with the king's usual historical introduction commencing with the words திருமணனி வளர, enumerates his conquests up to the capture of Kadâram, is dated in the 18th year of his reign and registers the extent of the *dēvalâna* lands belonging to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirukkalar which is said to be a village in Purangarambai-nâdu, a subdivision of Arumolidēva-valanâdu.

Compared with the inscription of this king found at Tirumalar⁴, dated in the 13th year of reign and his Tanjore epigraph⁵, dated in the 19th year of reign, the present inscription furnishes a few differences in reading which are noticed in foot-notes.

The identification of all the place names occurring in the historical introduction has been made by Professor Hultzsch⁶, and it remains to note here only a few facts in this connection. Idaiturai-nâdu which has been taken to be Yedatore, a small village in the Mysore district by Mr Rice, has since been shown by Dr Fleet to be identical with the

¹ *Purāṅkāval* is evidently the same as *puravi* of the Gudumallam plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 6, text—line 54).

² Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 280.

³ Nos. 642 to 655 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902. They belong to the reigns of the Chôla kings Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhirāja, Rājarāja, Vīrarājendia and Kulōttunga, the Pāndya kings Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrīvallabha and Māravarma Kulasēkhara and the Vijayanagara sovereigns Viruppanna and Vīra-Bhūpati.

⁴ Edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. II, pp. 105 ff. No. 20.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 230—1.

territorial division Ede dore, two thousand, a tract of country lying between the rivers Krishnâ on the north and Tungabhadra on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district¹ The Kanyâkumâri inscription of Virarâjendra shows that Mannâikadakkam is not to be identified with Manne in the Nelamangala taluk of the Bangalore district but is the same as Mânyakhêta, which Râjendra-Chôla is said to have made a playground for his armies² Chakkara-kôttam has been satisfactorily identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chitrakûta or 'kôta, eight miles from Râjapura in the Bastar State. he has also adduced epigraphical evidence to show that its king was really Dhârâvarsha in A D 1111³, as stated in the epigraphs of Kulôttunga I Dakshina-Lâdam has been taken to be Dakshina-Virâta or Southern Berars; but it looks likely that it is identical with Dakshina-Râdha in Bengal⁴. Śrî-Vijaya appears under the form Śrî-Vishaya in a Kandiyyûr inscription⁵ of the same king, and the large Leyden grant states that Mâravijayôttungavarman was the overlord of this territory⁶ This has been taken to be the same as San-fotsai of the Chinese annals and has been identified with Palembang, a residency of Sumatra⁷

TEXT

First Plate: First Side.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ || திரு மன்னி வளர இருநிலமடநதையும் பொரச்சயப்பாவையும் சீர்த்த-
- 2 னிச செவலியுந் தன பெருந்தெவியாராகி யினபு⁸ நெடிதிய⁹ லாழிய ளிடைத்துறை
- 3 நாடும துடாவனவெலிப படா வனவாகியும் ¹⁰சூளனிச சூழ¹¹மதிட கொளளிப்பாககையு-
- 4 ம நண்ணற கருமரண¹² மண்ணை கூடக்கமும் பொருத¹³ரீழத்தரையாத முடியு மாங்கவா
தெவிய
- 5 சொங்கெழினமுடியு முன்னவா [ப]ககற நென்னவா வைத்த சுந்தரமுடியு மிந்திரநாரமுந்
தெ-
- 6 ண்டிரை யீழமண்டல முழுவதும் எறிபடைக ¹⁴கொள முறைமையிற சூடுக குலதன-
- 7 மாகிய பலா புகழ் முடியும் செங்கதிராமாலையும் சங்கதிர வெலைத் தொலபெ-
- 8 ருங்காவற பல பழந்தீவும் செருவிற் சினவி விருபத்தொருகா லரைசுகளை கட்ட பரசுரா-
- 9 மன மெவருஞ் சாரந்திமத்தீவரண கருதி யிருத்திய செம்பொற் றிருத்தகு முடியும் பயந-
கொ-

¹ *Ibid*, Vol XII, p. 296

² *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, pp 119 and 156.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, p 179. Mr. Hira Lal would substitute "Kulôttunga conquered king Dhârâvarsha at Chakrakôttam" for "Kulôttunga conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôttam" - See foot-note 2.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol LXI, p 7 ff

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1894-5, paragraph 12.

⁶ *Arch Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV, p 218.

⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol XXVI, p 73 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 313

⁸ Tr reads இனபுற. Here and in the following foot-notes, Tr. denotes the Tirumalai inscription of Râjendra-Chôla I, published in *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp. 229 ff

⁹ Here and in the following foot-notes, Tj denotes the Tanjore inscription of Râjendra-Chôla I published in Vol. II, above, pp. 105 ff. Tj. and Tr read நெடுதியல

¹⁰ சூளனி is a mistake for சூளனி

¹¹ சூழ is the reading in Tr and Tj

¹² முரண is the reading in Tr and Tj

¹³ This reading occurs in Nos 9, 10 and 82 of *South-Ind Inscr.*, Vol II

¹⁴ Read கொளா.

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- 10 பெழி மிக முயங்கியில்¹ முதுகிடடொளித்த சயசினகன அளபபெரும்² புகழொடு³ பிடியி-
விரட்டபாடி யெழ-
11 ரையிலக்கமும் நவனெதிக்குலபபெரும்லைகளும்⁴ வீக்கிரமவீரா சக்கரகொட்டமு முதிர்-
⁵வடவலலை மது-
12 ர மண்டலமும் காமிடைவன நாமணை(ய)க்கொணையும்⁶ வெஞ்சிலை⁷ வீரா பஞ்சபபள்ளி-
யும் பாசடைப-
13 முன மாசணிதெசமும்⁸ அயாவிலவணபூரத்தியையாதினாகா⁹வையிற் சந்திரன் ஞாலகுலத்-
திரதிராதனை¹⁰ [வி]-
14 லையமாககனததுக கிளையொடும் பிடிததுப பலதனத்தொடு நிறைகுலதனக்குவையும்¹¹ கிட்-
டருஞ்செ-

Second Side

- 15 நிமிளை [டு]யாட்டவினெயமும் பூசுரா சொ நலக கொசலைஞாடும் தனம்பாலனை வெம்-
முனை யழித்தது வ-
16 ணனெற சொலை தண்டபுத்தியும் இரணஞ்சுரனை முரணுக¹² ததாகித் திககனை கீரத்தித்
தக்கணலாடமும் கொ-
17 விரதசந்தன மாவழிநதொடத் தங்காத சாரல வங்காளதெசமும் தொடுகழற் சங்குவொ-
ட்டல¹³ மயிபாலனை வெ-
18 ஞசமா விளாகத் தஞ்சுவித்தருளி யொண்டிறல யானையும் பெண்டிர பண்டாரமும் நித்தில
நெடுங்கட லு-
19 ததிரலாடமும் வெறிமலாததீரத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும்¹⁴ அலைகடனடுவட¹⁵ பலகலஞ்
செலுத்திச் சங்கிராம-
20 வினெஜையொத்துங்கபனமனாகிய கடாரத்தரையனை வாகையம்¹⁶ பொரு[க]டக்கு¹⁷[மப]-
ககரி-
21 யொடு மகப்படு[த துரி]மையிற் பிறக்கிய பெருநெதிப் பிறக்கமும் ஆர்த்தவனகனகாப்
பொ-
22 ரத்தொழில வாசலில விசசாதர¹⁸ (தொ)தொரணமு மொயத்தொளிர புனைமணிப்புதவமு-
ம கன-

¹ Tr has முசங்கியல, while Tj reads முயங்கியல The change of ச and ய is quite ordinary.

² Tj. has அளபபெரும்

³ Tr. and Tj. read பிடியல. Correct பிடியில into பிடியல்.

⁴ Read வீக்கிரம

⁵ Tr. reads பட

⁶ In place of வளநாமணை(ய)க்கொணையும், Tr. reads வளைய நாமணைக்கொணமும், but Tj has வளநாமணைக்கொணையும்

⁷ For வெஞ்சிலை (= of fierce arrow) of Tr and Tk, Tj. has வெஞ்சின (= of fierce anger).

⁸ For பாசடை பழனமாசணி தெசமும் of Tj and Tk., Tr. has பாசடை பழநன் மாசணிதெசமும்.

⁹ வணபூரத்தி(மை) யாதினாகா of the Tk., generally occurs as வணகிரத்தி ஆதி நகா (Tr. and Tj.). The change of நகா into ஞகா is correct

¹⁰ For குலத்திரதிராதனை of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has குலத்திரதனை where திர is perhaps omitted before ரதனை.

¹¹ For கிடடருஞ் of Tj. and Tk, Tr. has கிடடரும which is perhaps an engraver's mistake.

¹² For முரணுக of Tj and Tk, Tr. has முரணுற.

¹³ The reading தொடு கழற் சங்குவொட்டல agrees with that given in Tj., but Tl. has சங்கு கொட்டல.

¹⁴ While Tj reads வெறிமலாததீரத்தத் தெறிபுனலக்கங்கை, Tr has வெறிமணறதீரத்தத் தெறிபுனற்-
கங்கை, and Tk, வெறிமலாததீரத் தெறிபுனற்கங்கை

¹⁵ For னடுவட of Tk, னடுவட is the reading in Tj. Both are correct.

¹⁶ While Tk reads வாகையம், Tj has வாகயம்.

¹⁷ In place of கடக்குமபககரி, an Uttaramallūr inscription reads கடல் கும்பககரி. (see note 6 on page 107 above)

¹⁸ A different reading of this is விசசாதிர: see *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. II, p- 107.

- 23 மணிககதவமும் நிறை ஸ்ரீவிஜெயமும்¹ துறைநீர்ப்பன்னையு² மனமலையுரையிற ரென
மலை[யு]-
- 24 நம ஆழகடலகழஞ்சூழ மாயிருடிங்கமும் கலங்கா வலவினை யிலங்காசொபமும்³ காப்புறு
நிறை-
- 25 புனல மாபப்பாளமும் காவலம்புரிசை மெவினிமபங்கமும்⁴ விளைபபைந தூறுடை வ-
ளைபபைநதூ⁵-
- 26 நும கலைத்தககொ புகழ தலைத்தககொலமும்⁶ தீயதமாவலவினை⁷ மாதமலிங்க[முங்
கலா]முதிர கடுந்திறல இலாழ-
- 27 ரிதெசமும் தெனக்கலா⁸ பொழில மானக்கவாழமுந தொடுகழற⁹ காவற கடுமுரட கடா-
ரமு மாப்பொரு தண்டாற கொ[ண+]ட கொ-
- 28 பபாசெசரிபனமரான உடையார ஸ்ரீராஜெந்திரசொழிதெவாகு யாண்டு பதினெட்டா-
வது அருமொழிதெவ[வ]-
- 29 ளநாட்டு புறங்காமபை நாட்டு வெங்ககாக்கள திருக்களா ழைவாடெவா ழெவதாநம நிலம
இ
- 30 யகவலிவநநிலம வளை[யி]றசுறறு மிகிதிகுறைவு¹⁰ உள்ளடங்க ||வ

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighteenth year (of the reign of) king Parakêsarī-
varman alias Udayâr Śrī-Rājendra-Chôḷadêva, in (his) life of high pros-
perity, while Tīru (Lakshmī), having become constant, was increasing, (and) while the
goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of
fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—conquered with (his) great, warlike army
(the following).—

Idaīdurai-nādu, Vanavāsi, whose unbroken hedge of forest (trees) was
extending, Kollippākkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood;
Mannaiikkadakkam, whose fortification was unapproachable, the crown of the king
of Îlam who came to close quarters in fighting, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens
of that (king), the beautiful crown and Indra's pearl necklace, which the king of the
south (i.e., the Pāndya) had previously deposited with that (king of Îlam), the whole
Îla-maṇḍala (on) the transparent sea, the crown praised by many and the garland
emitting beautiful rays, family treasures, which the (kings of) Kêrala, whose armies
possessing missile weapons, rightfully wore, many ancient islands whose old, great guard
was the ocean which resounds with its conches, the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tīru
(Lakshmī) which Parāśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāṇḍimattivu
impregnable, had deposited (there), when, in anger (he) bound the kings twenty-one times in
battle, the seven and a half lakshas of Irattapādi (which was) strong by nature, (and
which he took), together with immeasurable fame, (from) Jayasimha, who, out of fear,
turned his back at Musangi and hid himself (thus earning) great infame, the principal
great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubêra), Śakkarakôttam
(guarded by) brave warriors, the ancient and strong northern Madura-maṇḍala,
Nāmanaikkōnam, which was surrounded by dense groves, Pañchappalli
(protected by) warriors (who bore) cruel bows, the moth (-grown) ancient Mâsunidêśa,

¹ Tj. reads ஸ்ரீவிசையமும் and one of the Tiru-
pvalam inscriptions reads சோவிசையமும்.

² Tj. reads வனமலை

³ Read இலங்காசொகழம் as in Tj

⁴ Tj. reads விளைபபைநதூ.

⁵ Tj. reads வளைபபைநதூ

⁶ Tj. has தீத.

⁷ மாதமலிங்கமும் occurs as மாதமாலிங்கமும்
in Tj.

⁸ For தெனக்கலா, Tj. has தெனக்கவாரா.

⁹ கடலக்காவல is the reading in Tj.

¹⁰ Read மிகுதிகுறைவு.

a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures (*which he carried away*) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the moon, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the beautiful city of Âḍinagar, filled with unceasing abundance, Odda-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fight, the good Kôśala-nâḍu, where Brâhmanas abounded; Dandabutti, in whose gardens beetles abounded (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed Dharmapâla (*in*) a hot battle, Takkana-Lâḍam, whose fame reached (*all*) directions (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked Ranaśûra, Vangâladêśa, where the rain-wind never stopped (*and from which*) Gôvîndachandra fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant, elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*), after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field, Mahîpâla, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Uttira-Lâḍam in the neighbourhood of the expansive ocean abounding in pearls; and the Gaṅgâ, whose waters dashed against the banks filled with fragrant flowers, and (*who*), having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Samgrâma-vijayôttungavarman, the king of Kadâram, along with (*his*) rutting elephants, which put up rare fight and brought victory,—(*took*) the large heap of treasures, which (*that king*) had rightfully accumulated, the (*arch called*) Vidyâdhara-tôrana put up at the “gate” of his wide inland city provided with accoutrements of war, the “jewel-gate”, adorned with great splendour, the “gate of large jewels” the prosperous Śrî-Vishaya, Pannai with a ghat of (*bathing*) water, the ancient Malayûr (*with*) a fort situated on a fine hill, Mâyirudîngam, surrounded by the deep sea (*as*) a moat, Ilangâśôgam (*i.e.*, Lankâśôka) undaunted (*in*) fierce battles, Mâppappâlam, having abundant high waters as defence, Mēvilîmbangam, having fine walls as defence, Valaippandûru, possessing (*both*) cultivated land (?) and jungle, the principal (*city of*) Takkôlam, praised by great men (*versed in*) the sciences, the island of Mâdamalîngam, of strong battlements. Ilâmuri-dêśam, provided with scientifically ripe excessive strength, the great Nakka-vâram, whose gardens (*abounded in*) flowers dribbling honey, and Kadâram, of fierce strength, protected by foot-soldiers wearing *kalaḷ*, the *dēvadâna* lands (*belonging to the temple*) of the Mahâdēva at Vengûrkkala-Tirukkalar in Purangarambaï-nâḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumolîdēva-valanâḍu, measured $\frac{1}{2}$ (*veḷi*) $19\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{160}$ and . . . This land was inclusive of excess and deficiency (in measurement) of the surrounding parts

NO. 208 —TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJADHIRAJA I

This inscription in six lines is engraved on the second plate of the Tirukkalar set. It is dated in the 31st year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarîvarman Râjâdhîrâja I and registers an arrangement made, by a certain Tirumanappichchan, who bore the double surname Araiyan Nâgaraiyan and Mahîpâlakulakâlappêraraiyan, whereby one brahmin had to perform worship in the temple at Tirukkalar in addition to another who was doing that service till then. From the short historical introduction which states that the king with the help of his army took the head of Vîra-Pândya, Śâlai of the Chêra king and Ilangai, it is clear that “Śâlai is an important place in the Chêra dominions and not a feeding house” as the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao had taken to be.²

¹ Here is a figure resembling ௨.

² See p. 65 of the *Annual Report on Archaeology* of the Travancore State for 1920-21.

TEXT¹.

- 1 வீரபாண்டிய[ய⁺]ன தலைபுழை செரல[ன^{*}] சாலைபு[ம^{*}] இலங்கையும் தண்டாற கொண்ட
கொ இராஜ[கெ]-
- 2 சரிபதாரா உடையாரா ஸ்ரீராஜாயிராஜ ஷெவ[ர^{*}]கரு யாண்டு நயிக ஆவது அரெய[ன]
நாகரெயனா
- 3 மஹிபாலகுலகாலபபெரெய[னா]ந திருமண(ப)பபிசசன உடையாராகு முனபு திருவ-
[ர^{*}]ராதனை செ-
- 4 புழை பிராமணா ஒருவனும திருமண(ட)பபிசசன செதனிவகைகொண்டு செய்யும பிராம-
5 ணன ஒருவனுமாக இருவர்ககு ள க-சு தூணிக்குறுணி ஆக ள நாசயிசு உாருயள்ள-
சூவிட்டநி கவ இது
- 6 அழிபப[ர⁺]ந திருவாணை || ▽

TRANSLATION.

In the 31st year of (*the reign of*) king Rājākēśarivarman *alias* Udayār Śrī-Rājādhirājadēva, who, with his army, had taken the head of Vīra-Pāndya, Śālaṇ of the Chēra king and Llangai (*i.e.*, Ceylon), Araiyan Nāgaraiyan *alias* Mahīpālakulakālappēraraiyan *alias* Tirumanappichchan gave 1½ (*veli of*) land for (*yielding an income of*) 150 (*kalam of paddy*) for the expenses of two brahmms, *viz.*, one brahmin, performing the worship of the god from of old and one brahmin who is to perform (*the same*) receiving the income provided for by Tirumanappichchan at the rate of (one) *tuni* and (one) *kurun*² of paddy per day for 360 days. Those who destroy this (*shall incur the sin of acting against*) the sacred (*or royal*) order.

No 209 —TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

This inscription in 19 lines is engraved on the third plate of the Tirukkalar set. It is dated in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulōttunga-Chōladēva without any distinguishing epithet or historical introduction. In the absence of these, though it is not generally possible to say to which of the three kings who bore that name this record must be attributed, yet it appears to be a record of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, since it is stated in the fourth inscription in this set in referring to this record that the king abolished tolls—which is generally a feat attributed to Kulōttunga I. It registers a gift of paddy made by a certain Śivan Tillaināyakan *alias* Śruttondanambi of Tannīrkunram in Nenmalī-nādu to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirukkalar in Purangarambaī-nādu which was a sub-division of Rājēndraśōla-valanādu for the purpose of taking in procession Aravābharanadēva, for offerings to Pillaiyār and the god in the Mūlattānam and for feeding devotees on the days of the new-moon.

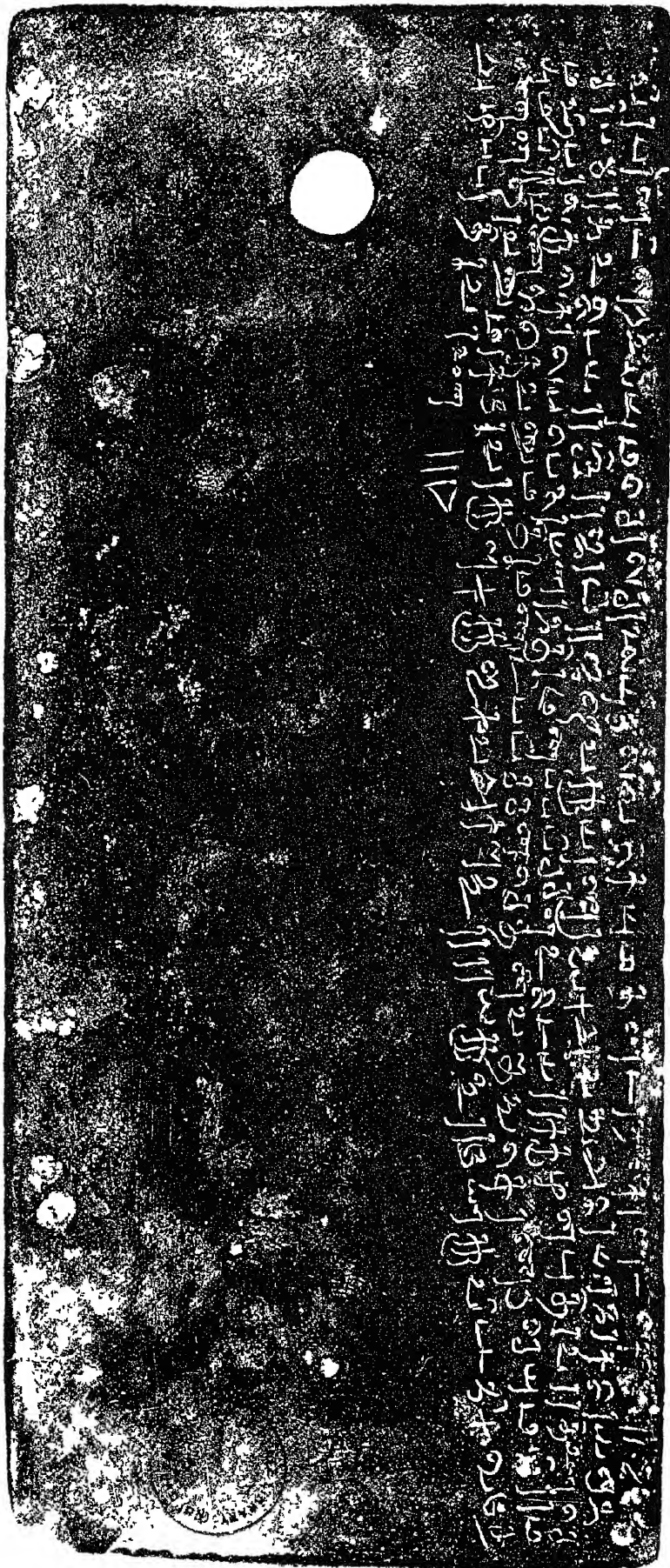
Tannīrkunram, to which the donor belonged, is a village 7 miles to the east of Mannārgudi in the Tanjore District. The modern village of Nemmelī in the same Taluk, must have been the principal place in the division Nenmalī-nādu in which Tannīrkunram is said to have been situated.

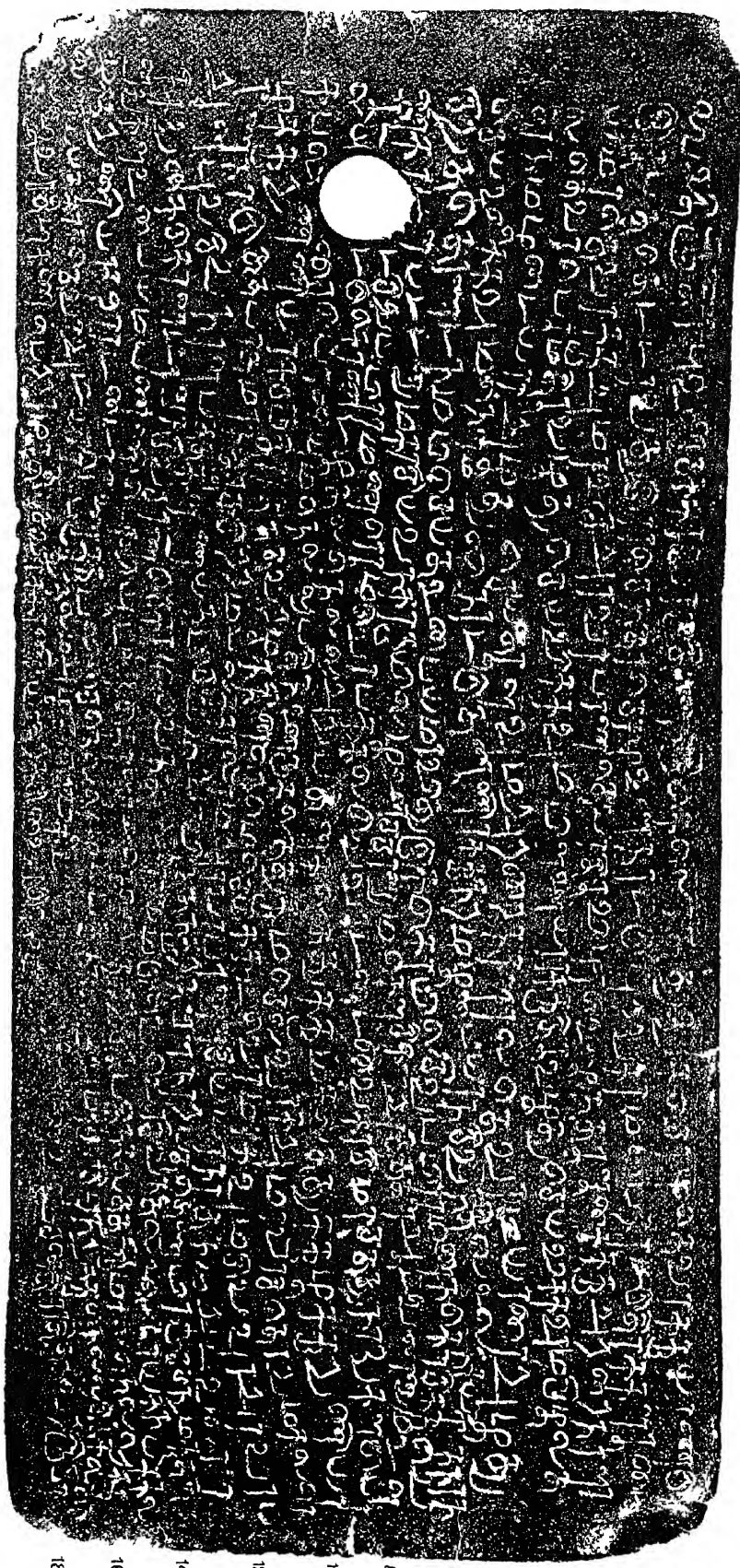
TEXT.

- 1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||⁺] திரிபுவனசககரவாததிகள ஸ்ரீ கெ[ர^{*}]லொததுங்கசொழதெவாககு யாண்டு
- 2 இருபத்தெட்டாவது இராசெநதிரசொழுவளநாட்டு புறங்கரமபைநாட்டு திருக்களரு-
டை-
- 3 யமாதெவாககு அமாவ[ர^{*}]சி அரவாபரணதெவா திருவிழா வெழுந்தருளுகைக்கு அற-
றை நாளா-

¹ This inscription is written on one side of this plate and the other side is left blank.

² These are expressed by symbols.





18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2

4 வ தெவர் பெருமதிருவமுது செயவிககவும பிள்ளையாக்கு திருவமுது செயவிககவும . னீ-
மலக

Âdavallân alias Pûrvasîvan alias Pattargauâyaka-Pichchan, Aravindan Kuran alias Nârpattennâyîra-Pichchan, Kûttan Gangai-kondân alias Sîvasâranaśêgara-Mûvêndavêlân of this village, who came forward (for this purpose) shall conduct the (specified) expenses on each new-moon day, at the rate of (one) *kalam* and three *kurun* as long as the Moon and the Sun (endure)

For the (one) hundred and twenty *kalam* of paddy which we had received on interest by agreement from Sîvan Tillainâyagan of this village, the interest in paddy for a period of one year calculated at the rate of three *kurun* per *kalam*, is thirty *kalam*.

With these thirty *kalam*, through those who stand for us we shall feed the devotees at the rate of two *kalam*, (one) *tûn* and (one) *padakku* of paddy for one new-moon day

As long as the sun and the moon (endure), the Sî-Mâhêśvaras shall be surety (for this). Kanperrân shall be in charge of the Mâhêśvara-kâni. This is my writing

No 210.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RAJARAJADEVA

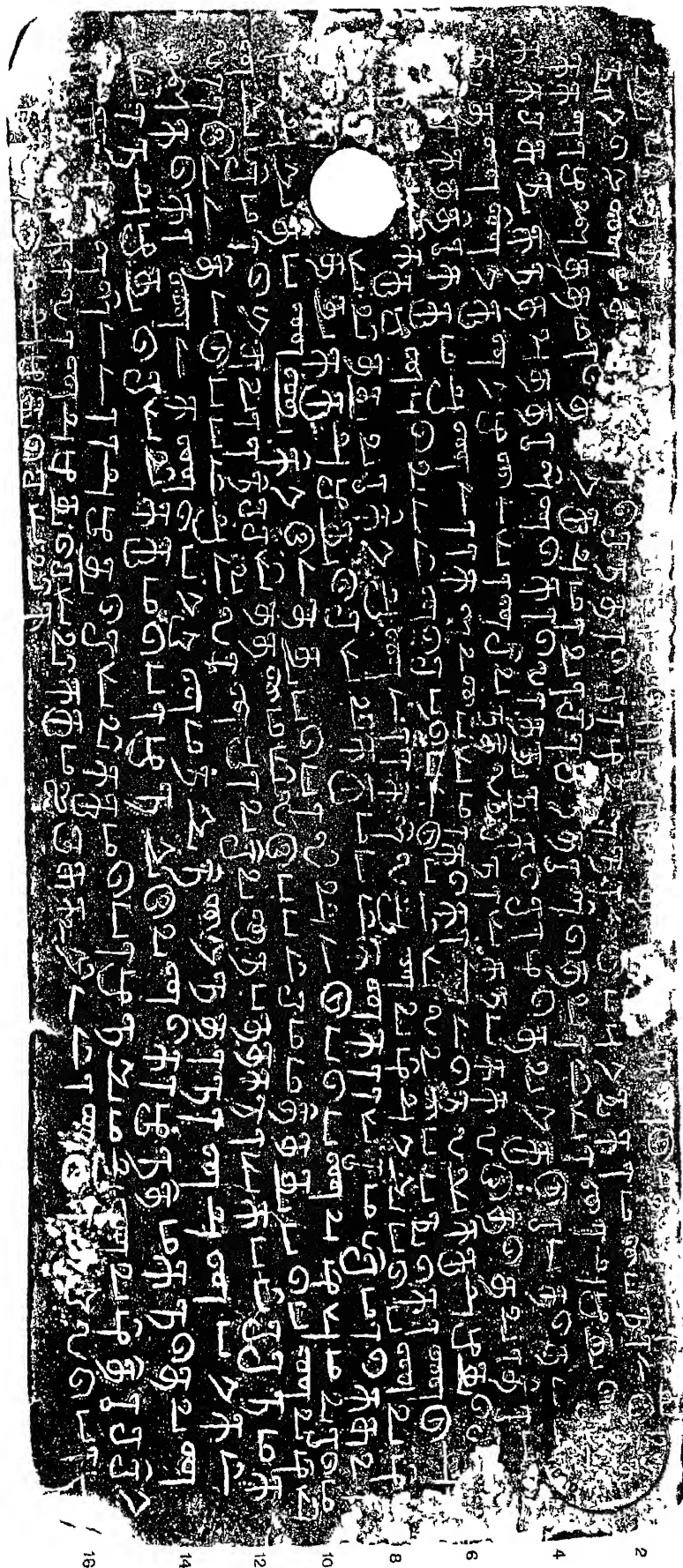
This is the fourth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on the second side of the third plate and belongs to the 18th year of the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Râjarâjadêva. It records that some of the families of the donees, who received the gift made by Sîvan Tillainâyagan of Tannîrkunram in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Kulôttunga-Chôla, the abolisher of tolls, ceased to have male members and that in consequence a question arising as to how the feeding pertaining to these families should be conducted in future, the Mâhêśvaras settled that the feeding stipulated in the grant to be done by the donees devolved on the female descendants as well and that arrangements were made in accordance with that order. The inscription may probably belong to the reign of Râjarâja II, though the distinguishing epithet of the king is missing and the characters appear to belong to a later period.

TEXT.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ[+]திரிபுல[னசககரவததி]கன ஸ்ரீ இராஜராஜதேவ[கு] யாண்டு பதிரெ-
ட்டாவது நாள்
- 2 நூற்றெண்பதிரா[வ இர]ாசேநதிரசொழவளநாட்டுப் புறங்கரமபைநாட்டுத் திரு-
- 3 ககளா முனீதத் மாதேவற்கு அமாவாசி எழுந்தருளி தேவரடியாரை அமுது செயவி-
- 4 ககச சுங்கநதவுத்தருளின கொலொத்துங்கசொழதேவற்கு இருபத்தெட்டா[வ]-
- 5 து தண்ணிறகுன்றமுடையான் சிவந்திலைநாயகந பககல இததேவா திருமடை-
- 6 [வின]ராகத்திருக்கும் ஆண்டாரகன உபையமாக கொண்ட நெலனுக்கு அமுது செய்[வி]-
- 7 கருமபடிக்கு முன்பு வெட்டின செப்பெட்டபடியில் உபையங்கொண்டு அமு-
- 8 துசெயவித்துவருகிற ஆண்டாரகளில் ஆணவழி அறறுப பெணவழியா-
- 9 ன கொத்துக்கு அமுது செய்விக்குமபடி கனகராயரும் ஸ்ரீமாகேசுவர-
- 10 ரும் அறுதி பண்ணுகிற இடத்துப் பொலிஊட்டுப் பெணவழியும் வருமெ-
- 11 னறு ஸ்ரீமாகேசுவரா நிச்சயித்தமையில் இப்படி சமமதித்துப் பெணவழியி-
- 12 லா இட்ட திட்டெப்படி ஆடவலான பூவசிவனூர பத்தகநாயகப் பிச்சந மக-
- 13 னை கொண்ட கணபெற்றான மநறு நிறைந்தநான அன்பறகடி-
- 14 யாக அமுது செயவிக்கும் பொ முநறு இவன கொழுந்தி மகந தேவன
- 15 [திவாகர?]ன உள்ளிட்டார அமுது செயவிக்கும் பொ முநறும் ஆணவழி திருச்சிற-
- 16 மம்பலககாலான அமுது செயவிக்கும் ஐஞ்சு கூறிட டிரண்டு கூற்றல பொ ப-
- 17 னநிரண்டு அமுது செயவிக்க[+] [k+]

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the eighteenth year and one hundred and eightieth day of (the reign of) the emperor of the three worlds the glorious Râjarâjadêva, when male descendants ceased to exist in some of the families of the *ândâr* who had been living in the *tirumadai-vîḷḷagam* of the god and who had obtained a paddy-gift for conducting the feeding specified



in a copper-plate grant engraved formerly (*i.e.*), in the twenty-eighth year of (*the reign of*) Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, the abolisher of tolls, from Śivan Tillaianâyagan of Tannîrkunram, who made provision for the new-moon festival and for feeding the devotees (*dēvaradiyār*) of the god Mahâdêva who had sprung at Tirukkalar in Purangarambainâdu, (*a sub-division*) of Râjêndrasôla-valanâdu and who (*i.e.*, the *ândâr*) had been conducting the feeding with the gifts and when Kanakârâyar and the Mâhêśvaras wished to decide how the feeding pertaining to the families having only female descendants should be conducted, the Mâhêśvaras came to the settlement that the feeding from the interest (*of a gift*) devolved also on the female descendants. It was so agreed and that in accordance with the agreement made by the female descendants, (*it was decided that*) three persons had to be fed by Kanperriân Tanruniraindân *alias* Anbarkadiyân who had taken (*to wife*) the daughter of Âdavallân Pûrvasîvan *alias* Pattarganâyaga-Pichchan, that three persons had to be fed by Dêvan Divâkaran, the son of her *kolundi* (husband's younger sister) and others and that twelve persons pertaining to two shares out of the (*same*), *viz.*—which (*number*) was fed by Tiruchchirrambalakkâlân,—shall now be fed by the male descendants (*of his*).

No 211—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

This is the fifth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on both sides of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth. It is dated in the 29th year of the reign of Kulôttunga-Chôladêva (*i.e.*, Kulôttunga III) who took Madura, Ceylon, Karuvâr and the crowned head of the Pândya king and furnishes a list of gold and silver ornaments belonging to the temple at Tirukkalar with their weights as measured by the standard weight called the *kudimbi-kal* and the fineness in each case.

First Side

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] திரிபுவனசசக்கரவத்திகள மதுரையும் சூழமுந் கருவூரும் பாண்டியன மு-
டித்தலையுந் கொண்டருளி-
- 2 ய ஸ்ரீகுலோத்தங்க சொழ்தெவறகு யாண்டு உயசு-வது திருக்களா முனைத்த நாயனா
கொ-
- 3 யில திருவாரணததுக்கு முதல குடினைக்கலவிடை திருக்கொள்கை க-ம இதனெ-
- 4 மல பறமமும் உடபட அஇவறு மாறிபொன நூற்றொரு கழஞ்சரை இதன விளிமபி-
- 5 ற திரைத்த வெள்ளி பதினாறுகழஞ்செ முக்கால ||— திருவொதா¹ரமாவை பொறபு ப-
- 6 திருநீரால் அஇ மாறி பொன பன்னிரு கழஞ்சு ||— திருவத்திரியம் க-னூல அஇ மாறி
- 7 பொன இருகழஞ்செ நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறுமா ||— திருப்பிறை க-னூல அ மு-
- 8 ககால மாறி பொன முக்கால ||— கன்னபுஜி²[ம+] க-னூல அஇ மாறி பொன இருகழஞ-
- 9 செ கால ||— திருப்பட்டிகைப்பலகை க-னூல அவ மாறி பொன அறுபத்து
- 10 நாற்கழஞ்சரை இதன விளிமபித்திரைத்த வெள்ளி பத்தொன்பதின் கழஞ்சரை-
- 11 ய நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறுமா இதுவா பலவிடத்துந் தைத்த செப்பாணி இடை
- 12 ஆறரை பலம் ||— அன்னியுடையா ரிட்ட பொறபு க-னூல பொன கழஞ்சு இது கொத்த
- 13 வெள்ளிக்காரை க-னூல வெள்ளி அரைக கழஞ்சு ||— உய-வது மாளிகை முலபண்டார-
- 14 ததின்னும் வந்த திருப்பட்டம் க-னூல பொன எழுகழஞ்செ கால ||—

Second Side.

- 15 திருப்பள்ளியறை நாச்சியா¹[க+]ஞ்ச சாததுகிற சிறுதாவி க-ம மணி க-னூலும் பொன
இர-
- 16 ண்டு மஞ்சாடியு² நாலுமா இது மாறறு அஇ இது கொத்த காரை க-னூல வெள்ளி கால
- 17 திருமங்கலநாண க-ம தாவி க-ம கொக்குவாய படுகண உடபட கூ மாறி பொன
இருகழ-

¹ Read 'வதர.

² The syllables டியு are engraved below the line.

கிருவையாறுடையா ரிட்ட திருவடிகெட
||— திருநெறறித்திறனை க-னால ஆஇ ம
நாண க தானி கடைத்தொழிலுடபட அ
வ மணி சயக-னால கூ மாறி பொன கழந்

செ முககாலெ மஞ்சாடி ||— வெள்ளிம
மஞ்சாடியு முன ஆ மா ||— வெள்ளிககா
மஞ்சாடி இதில கொத்த தானி க-னால

அன மாறி பொன கழஞ்சரை || திருந
றல கூ மாறி பொன இருகழஞ்ச || திருந
ல || உடையாறகு திருமஞ்சனதது⁴க்கு

இட்ட திருவுத்தரியம க-னால பொன மு
காசமி || திருவாசிகைப்பரிமததில ⁵பாப

i

2
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By 3 ear-flowers (*kannapushpam*), two *kalañju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred girdle-plate (*tiruppattigai-palagai*), sixty-four *kalañju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ fineness Silver, covering the edges of this, nineteen *kalañju* and a half, four *mañjādi* and six *mā* The weight of copper nails fixed in the several parts of this (*ornament*) is six and half *palam*.

By 1 gold flower given by Annaiyudaiyâr, one *kalañju* of gold By one silver necklace in which this was strung, half a *kalañju* of silver.

By 1 sacred diadem (*tiruppattum*) received in the 20th (year) from the central treasury of the palace (*māhgar*), seven *kalañju* and a quarter of gold

By 1 small marriage-badge (*tāl*) to be worn by the goddess of the bed-chamber and one *man* (gem), two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold This is of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness By 1 necklace on which this was strung, quarter (*kalañju*) of silver Inclusive of 1 string of the marriage-badge, 1 marriage-badge, together with the *kokkuvāy* and *padugan*, two *kalañju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 garland (*truvāsigar*) made by Irāsāndān alias Śôlavichchâdîra Pallavaraiyar of Pôdimangalam in the 23rd (year of reign), for being put on (the image of) Aravâbharanadêva, two hundred and fifty-five *kalañju* and a quarter, three *mañjādi* and five *mā* of gold of $8\frac{5}{8}$ fineness.

By 1 *abhishêka*, sixteen *kalañju* and a half of gold of $9\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred garland (*truvâram*) of this god, four *kalanju* and three-fourths, two *mañjādi* and seven *mā* of gold of $9\frac{1}{4}$ fineness.

By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tirutôdu*) of this (god), three *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ fineness

By 1 *abhishêka* of the consort of this (god), ten *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred garland (*truvâram*) of this (god) two *kalañju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 2 ear-rings (*tôdu*) of this (god), two *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 24 sacred round beads (*truvattaman*), (one) *kalañju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness By 1 string of sacred round beads (*truvattamani*) and 30 beads, (one) *kalañju*, two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, [1 *kalañju*, 8 *mañjādi* and 2 *mā*]¹ of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, two *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 pair of sacred anklet (*truschelambu*), four *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness

By 1 *tru-abhishêkam* presented by Tiruvaiyârudaiyân for being worn by the Nâchchiyâr (i.e., the goddess Pârvatî) who performed full penance, fifteen *kalañju* and a half of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 *tiranai* for the forehead, five *kalañju* and quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 string of marriage-badge inclusive of the end-workings of the marriage-badge, (one) *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness

By 1 sacred foot-string (*truttâvadam*), and 41 beads, (one) *kalañju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 4 sacred wristlets, two *kalañju* and three fourths and (one) *mañjādi* of gold of 9 fineness.

¹ Expressed by symbols see page 474, note 1.

By 35 silver beads, three-fourths of a (*kalañju*), two *mañjādi* and three *mā* of silver
 By 1 silver bracelet (*kārai*), three fourths (*kalañju*) and two (*mañjādi*) of silver
 By 1 marriage-badge strung on this, half a *kalañju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.
 By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tiruttōdu*), (one) *kalañju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness
 By 1 sacred garland . gold.¹
 By 1 head circlet (*śirachakram*), two *kalañju* of gold of 9 fineness
 By 2 sacred necklaces (*tirukkanda-vāh*), three-fourths (of a *kalañju*) of gold of 9 fineness.
 By 1 sacred upper cloth presented by Udayâr Śôlavichchâdîra-Pallavaraiyar to be worn by the god during the sacred bath, three-fourths (of a *kalañju*), four *mañjādi* and six *mā* of gold.²

By 1 snake in the *tiruvâsigaippuram*, (one) *kalañju* and three-fourths and two *mā* of gold

TWO CHOLA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM TIRUCHCHENGODU

No 212 —TIRUCHCHENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN³

This short inscription in seven lines is engraved on the first side of the first plate of the set of copper-plates obtained from M R By Muthuswamy Konar of Tiruchchengôdu. It is dated in the 10th year of the reign of king Râjakêsarivarman and registers evidently an order of one of the feudatory chiefs of the sovereign named Malavaraiyan Sundarâśôlan, stating that the taxes on full house-sites and half house-sites shall be recovered at $\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{8}$ th (*kâśu*?) respectively from the citizens of Tûśiyûr and that fines and faults, if any, shall be realised at the rate prevailing in Nandipuram. The chief Malavaraiyan Sundarâśôlan gets the surnames Piradigandan and Kollî-Malavan in B and Orriyûran Piradigandavarman in No 213. Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri has identified the king Râjakêsarivarman of this and the following record with Râjarâja I and notes as follows regarding the donor's father who, in B is stated to have died at Îlam (ie, Ceylon)⁴.—"He was evidently a military officer of Râjarâja I or of one of his predecessors. An inscription from Tiruvenkâdu of the time of Râjarâja I refers to the general Śiriyavêlân of Kodumbâlûr who fell in a battle-field in Îlam in the ninth year of Ponmâligai-tuñjina-dêva (ie, Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II). It is not impossible that the father of Malavaraiyan was also connected with the battle in which Śiriyavêlâr fell."

It is not possible to identify Tûśiyûr mentioned in this inscription

TEXT.⁵

A.

1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொவிராஜகெசரிபனமறக்கு யா-

2 னெடு ஆவது மழவரையன சுந்தரசொழனெ-

3 ன⁷ தூசிபூர நகரத்தாரை நான் கொள்ளும் மிறை முழும-

4 னை காலும் அரைமனை அரைக்காலும் நின்ற இறைஆ-

¹ Details regarding this item are omitted to be given in the original

² After this occurs the phrase மாதறு காசுமி whose significance cannot be made out.

³ This is registered as No. 10 of App A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14.

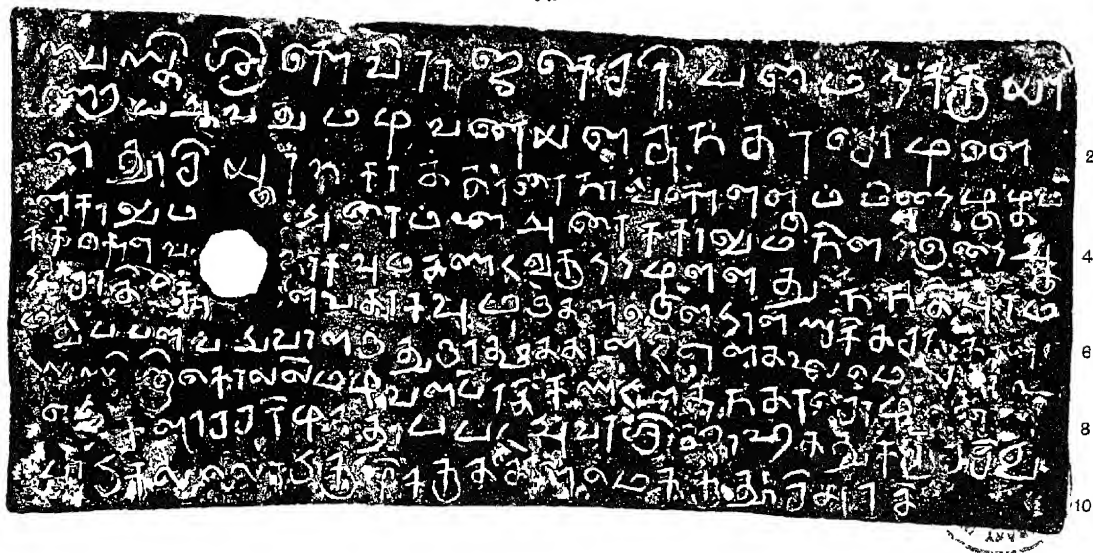
⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14, Part II, paragraph 15

⁵ From impressions (received from) the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁶ Pulli is marked in some places and left out in others.

⁷ Here the word ஒலை seems to have been omitted.

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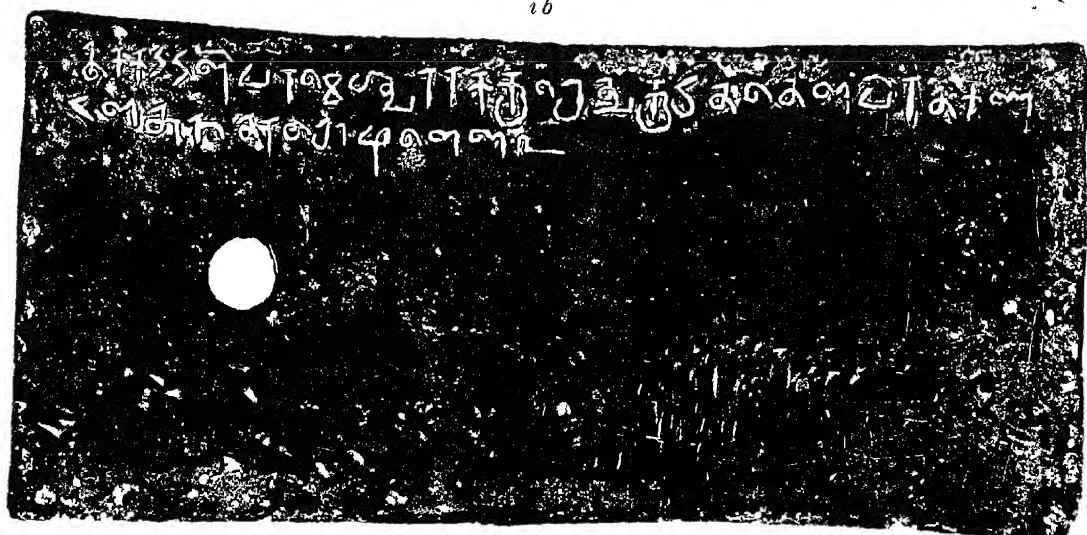
4

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- 5 கக கொளவதாகவும தண்டங்குறற முள்ளது நந்திபுர ம-
 6 மசாகி¹ கொளவதாகவும இதன மெனமுன ஸுகிதசநதான-
 7 ம துப்பன வறுவான இது இர[க்ஷி]த்தானடி என தலை மெலது.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 10th year of (*the reign of*) king Râjakêsarivarman, I, Malavaraiyan Sundarâśôlan (*ordered as follows*).—

The tax which we used to receive from the citizens of Tûśiyûr (*viz.*) one-fourth (*kâsu*) on (*each*) full house-site, and one-eighth on (*each*) half house-site shall be realised as permanent tax; any fine or fault shall be realised according to (*the rate prevalent at*) Nandipuram. The merit and progeny of him who contradicts this shall be entirely² cut off. The feet of him who protects this shall (*rest*) on my head.

TEXT.

B³

- 1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||+] கொலவிமழவன பிரதிகண்டன் சுந்தரசொழனென
 2 எங்களாச்ச ரிழததுப பட அவர் ஸ்ரீலீலாஹததுகருச சிறு-
 3 பாடு கலவொடு குழிககுத தெனமெ[ற*]ககு தூசியு⁴ தி-

Second Side.

- 4 நுககறறனி பரஸெய்யராககு செதுகுடுததென பிரதிகண்-
 5 டன சுந்தரசொழனென ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! My father having been killed in Îlam (Ceylon), I, Kollimalavan Piradigandan Sundarâśôlan,⁵ made a *śirupâdu*⁶ to the south-west of the boulder with a hole and gave it to the lord of the sacred stone temple at Tûśiyûr for (*appeasing*) his thirst.

No. 213.—TIRUCHOENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN⁷

This inscription, engraved on three plates—the last bearing writing only on the inner side—is dated in the 5th year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarivarman (identified with Râjarâja I) and registers gifts of lands made by the chief Kollimalavan Orriyûran Piradigandavarman, to the temple of Paramêśvara of the sacred Mûlasthâna at Tûśiyûr. Boundaries of the lands granted are furnished in detail and therein figure Kannâdu, the dams called Pûnârru-anai and Kallôdu-anai, the tanks Śûlai-kulam also known as Kândalêri, Tâmaraiikkulam and Karrali-êri also named Pudukkulam, the temple of Tântônripirân, Mûkkurukkâ, Kattinâgankûval-ittêr and Kanavadinallûr, otherwise called A man kud i.

¹ Cf *maryâda* in Sanskrit

² With துப்பன cf துப்புர or துப்புரவாய.

³ This inscription is engraved below A and continued on the other side of the plate.

⁴ Read தூசியூ

⁵ This name is repeated twice in the inscription

⁶ The word *śirupâdu* seems to be connected with *śirupâdu* 'small savings effected by females and youngsters'. In the text, it may refer to some land or property, which the donor might have obtained out of the savings effected by him in his youth

⁷ This inscription is registered as No. 11 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1914.

Kannādu (*kal-nādu*) which occurs more than once in this inscription refers evidently to hero-stones which are stated in ancient Tamil literature, as having been put up with great ceremony in honour of persons who had done valorous deeds in guarding their country and given up their lives in that cause. Being associated with the word பெருவரம்பு it may even be an engraver's mistake for *kannārru*.

Traces of writing found in lines 13, 28, 29, 30 and 33 indicate that the present inscription is a palimpsest.

It is not possible to identify the places mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT ¹

First Plate, First Side

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ [||+]
- 2 கொவிராஜகெவலரிபதீ[ராக்+]கூடத் திருவெழுத்தி-
- 3 (ருவெழுத்தி)டஞ செலலாநின்ற யாண்டு அஞ்சாவது இவ்வ[ர+]ண்டு கொல-
- 4 விமழவன ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டவ[ர+]ணென எனாடுத தூசியூர-
- 5 த தெனபுலத தூநிலம் கிழக்கெலலை பிடாரியா[ர+] நிலத்துக்கும்
- 6 அமைச்சிக்கும் பூநாற்றி அணைக்கு[ம+] மெக்கும் தெற்கெலலை திருப்பா-
- 7 மைக்குக கிழக்குக கனாடுக்கும பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் திரு-
- 8 பப[ர+]மைக்கு மெக்கு கனாடுக்கும பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் மெ-
- 9 கெலலை சூனாகுளமான காந்தனெரிக்குந தானென நிபிரான கொ-

First Plate, Second Side

- 10 யிலுந தூசியூரத தெனவாய வாயினினு தெற்கு நொக்கிப
- 11 (ப) பொன பெருவழிகும் கிழக்கும் வடக்கெலலை தூசியூரப³ பழவூர-
- 12 க்குத் தெற்கும் தாமரைக்குளமும் இக்குளத்தால நிரகொவை
- 13 யும் இதெபிவரன⁴ ல-லுமியும் கற்றனியெரியான புதுக்குள-
- 14 மும் இக்குளத்து நிரகொவையும் இக்குளக்கிழை-
- 15 வலையாவது கிழக்கெலலை கனாடுக்கு மெக்குந
- 16 தெற்கெலலை கடநிராகனகூவ விடொக⁵ வடக்கு மெக[கெ*]-
- 17 வலை மூக்குகாவிதக்கு கிழக்கும் வடக்கெலலை எரிக்கு-
- 18 ந தெற்கும் கணவநிலவூரான அமணகுடியும் அவனூ-
- 19 ர நனபுலமும் செப்பலமும் இவ்விரைத்த பெருநான-

Second Plate, First Side

- 20 (கெலலையி) நிலம் மெனெக்கின மரமும் கிழ-
- 21 நொக்கின கணமும் புறமும் முடக்குறையும் உடுமபொடி யா-
- 22 மை தவழந்தது எப்பொப்பட்ட நிலமும் தூசியூர-
- 23 த திருக்கற்றனி திருமூலநாணமுடைய பாஜேஸ்வராக-
- 24 கு உடிமவ-லு-ஞ செயது எலையுங் கல-
- 25 லுந தெரித்துக் குடுத்தென கொலவிமழவ-
- 26 ன ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டவ[ர+]ணென[+] கணவ-
- 27 திருவலூ(ர)ரான அமணகுடி தூசியூர திருமூலட்டானம்-
- 28 உடைய பாஜேஸ்வராகு உடிமவ-லு-கம்⁶ செயதுகு-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 29 தெனென ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டபன-
- 30 மனென தூசியூர திருமூலட்டான(ர)முடைய ப-
- 31 ரமெஸ்வரந் தமக்கு பஞ்சமாஸஸ்டி கொட-

¹ From impression prepared in 1914

² The rest of this line and a part of the next are left blank

³ Read தூசியூர

⁴ This word is written over an erasure.

⁵ Read ட்டெரி.

⁶ Read செயது.

1a

ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 2
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 3
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 4
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 5
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 6
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 7
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 8
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 9
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 10

1b

ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 11
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 12
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 13
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 14
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 15
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 16
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 17
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 18
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 19
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 20

1ia

ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 21
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 22
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 23
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 24
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 25
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 26
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 27
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 28
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 29
 ஸ்ரீமத்கிருஷ்ணபகவதே நம: 30

[illegible]

30

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[illegible]

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- 32 கெனற உவசசகளுக்கு கணவதிகலவா(ர)ரான
 33 அமணகுடி உடிகழுவதென செயதுகுதென-
 34 ன திரு[க+]கமறவரிடைய பரமெஸ்வர[க்கு+] [I+] இநனை இ-
 35 ரகதிப்பான பரீபாடி மென தீலமெலன [I+] இதிற-
 36 ககிணுன வழி யெழுச்சு மொழியாம வலுவான [I+]

Third Plate . First Side

- 37 கொலவிமழவன ஓற்றியூரன பிரதிகண்டவனமென தாசி-
 38 யூர தெவநிலம் பழந்தெவதானம் [சு]னகுள(ம)ம[ர+]ன காந்தனெ-
 39 ரிக குளத்தினகிழ திருப்பாறைக்கு தெற்கு பிரமதெய[ம+] [ெ]சயதமை-
 40 யில அநநிலத்துக்கு நிலம் கழாறு [I+] இதுக்கு எலலை சிறுநரைக்கு
 41 மெக்கு பள்ளிச்சநத[த+]துக்கு வடக்கும் அமச்சிக்கு கிழ-
 42 க்கும் கலவொடனைக்கு[ம+] குசவனகழனிகு[ம+] தெற்கு-
 43 [ம] [I*] இநந[ர]னகு எலலை நிலம் நிலத்துக்கு நிலம் குதெ-
 44 (த)தென [I+]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In this year, (viz), the fifth year, current by the king's order, of (the reign of) king Rājākēśarivarman, I, Kollimalavan Orriyūran Piradigandavarman¹ gave with libation of water, the following lands situated within the four great boundaries described, inclusive of the trees growing thereon, the wells sunk therein, the ant-hills, the *mudakkurai*, and containing all kinds of soil where inguanas run and the tortoises crawl,—after defining the boundaries and (boundary) stones, to the god (Paramēśvara) in the sacred Mūlasthāna of the sacred stone temple at Tūśiyūr:—

The fine land in the field to the south of Tūśiyūr in my division,—the eastern boundary of which is to the west of the land belonging to Pīdāriyār, of *Amarchehi* and of the dam called Pūnārru-anaṭ, the southern boundary is to the north of the big ridge and the hero-stone (*kannādu*) on the eastern side of the sacred boulder, and to the north of the hero-stone and big ridge on the western side of the (same) sacred boulder, the western boundary is to the east of the high road passing southwards from the southern entrance of Tūśiyūr and the tank called Śūlai-kulam *alias* Kāndalēri as well as the temple of Tāntōnripirāṇ, the northern boundary is to the south of the old village of Tūśiyūr,—together with the lotus tank (Tāmarai-kulam). the *nirkōvai* (i.e., land covered with water) of this tank, the land of [Itadupiviran],² and the tank known as Karraḷi-ēri *alias* Puḍukkulam, together with the *nirkōvai* of this tank

The boundaries of the lands under this tank are as follow —The eastern boundary is to the west of the hero-stone; the southern boundary is to the north of the by-path called Kattināgankūvalittēr, the western boundary is to the east of Mūkkurugā; the northern boundary is to the south of the tank; they include Kanavadinallūr *alias* Aṁankudī together with the lands and the dry lands belonging to that village.

I, Orriyūran Piradigandavarman, gave with libation of water, Kanavadinallūr *alias* Aṁankudī to the god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna in Tūśiyūr. I gave with libation of water, Kanavadinallūr *alias* Aṁankudī, to the god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna of the stone temple³ at Tūśiyūr and to the drummers who sound the five great sounds to him The feet of him who protects this charity shall be on my head. He who acts against it, shall without faillose progeny in seven births

¹ This name is repeated twice in the inscription

² This is written over an erasure and the reading is tentative

³ The words *Tirukkarrāḷi-udaiya Paramēśvarar* have no connection with any other word in this sentence. Perhaps, கரு has been omitted to be engraved

As the lands situated to the south of the sacred boulder lying under the tank known as Śūḷai-kūḷam also called Kāṇḍalêri, an old *dēvadāna* land in Tūśiyūr, had been constituted as a *brahmadēya* and given away, I, Kollimalavan Orriyūran Piradigandavarman made Kalāru as a substitute for that land. The boundaries of this land are.—

To the west of Sīrūkarai; to the north of the *Palhchchandam*, to the east of *Amarchchi* and to the south of the dam called Kallōdanai and Kuśavankalanī. As an exchange of land, I gave the land lying within these four boundaries.

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Figures enclosed in brackets refer to the pages of the Introduction, without brackets, they refer to the page of the volume, "n" after a figure to foot-notes, and "add" to the *Addenda and Corrigenda*. The following other abbreviations are used — *Ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *f* = female, *k* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *re* = river, *sa* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *W* = Western

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